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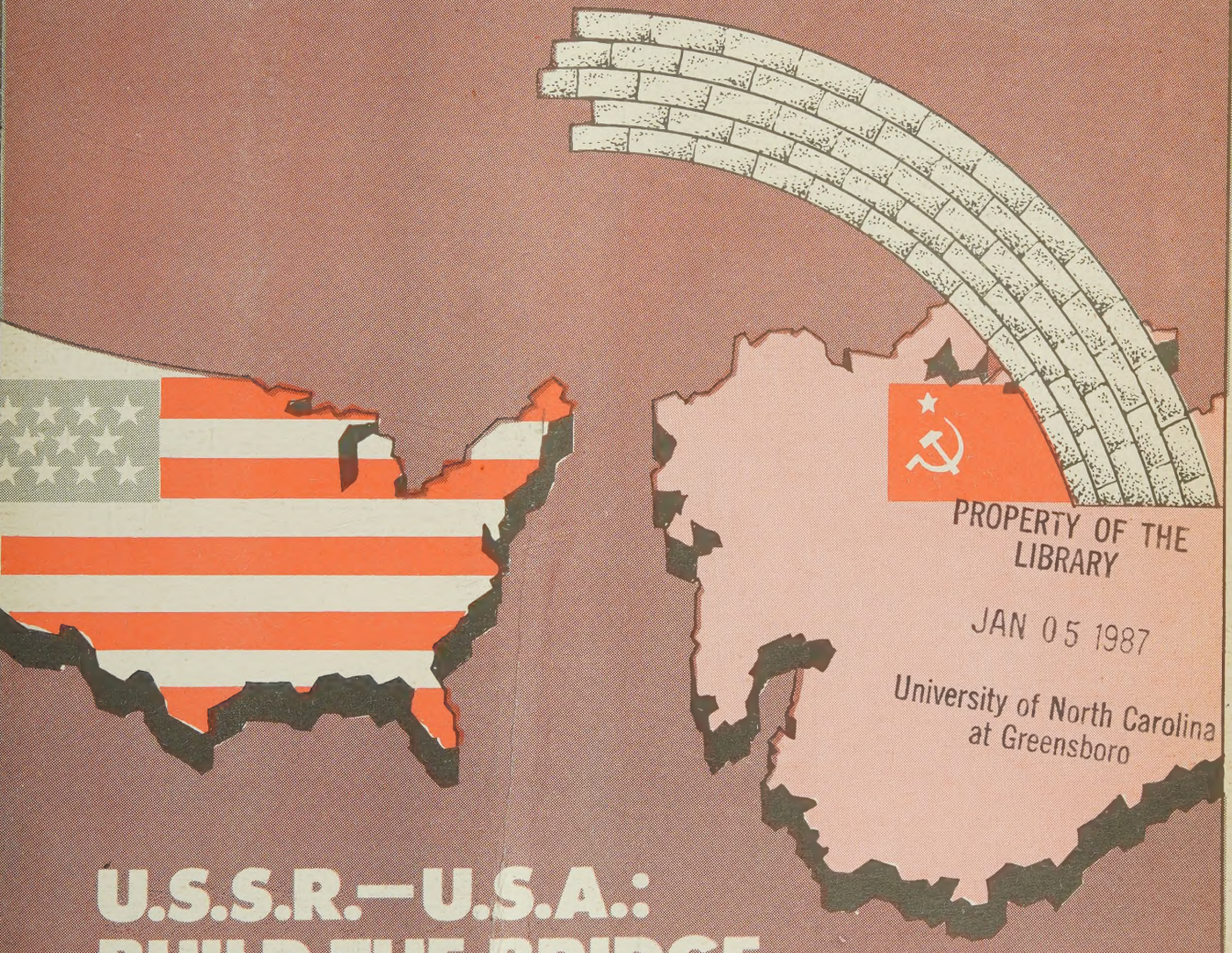
NEW TIMES



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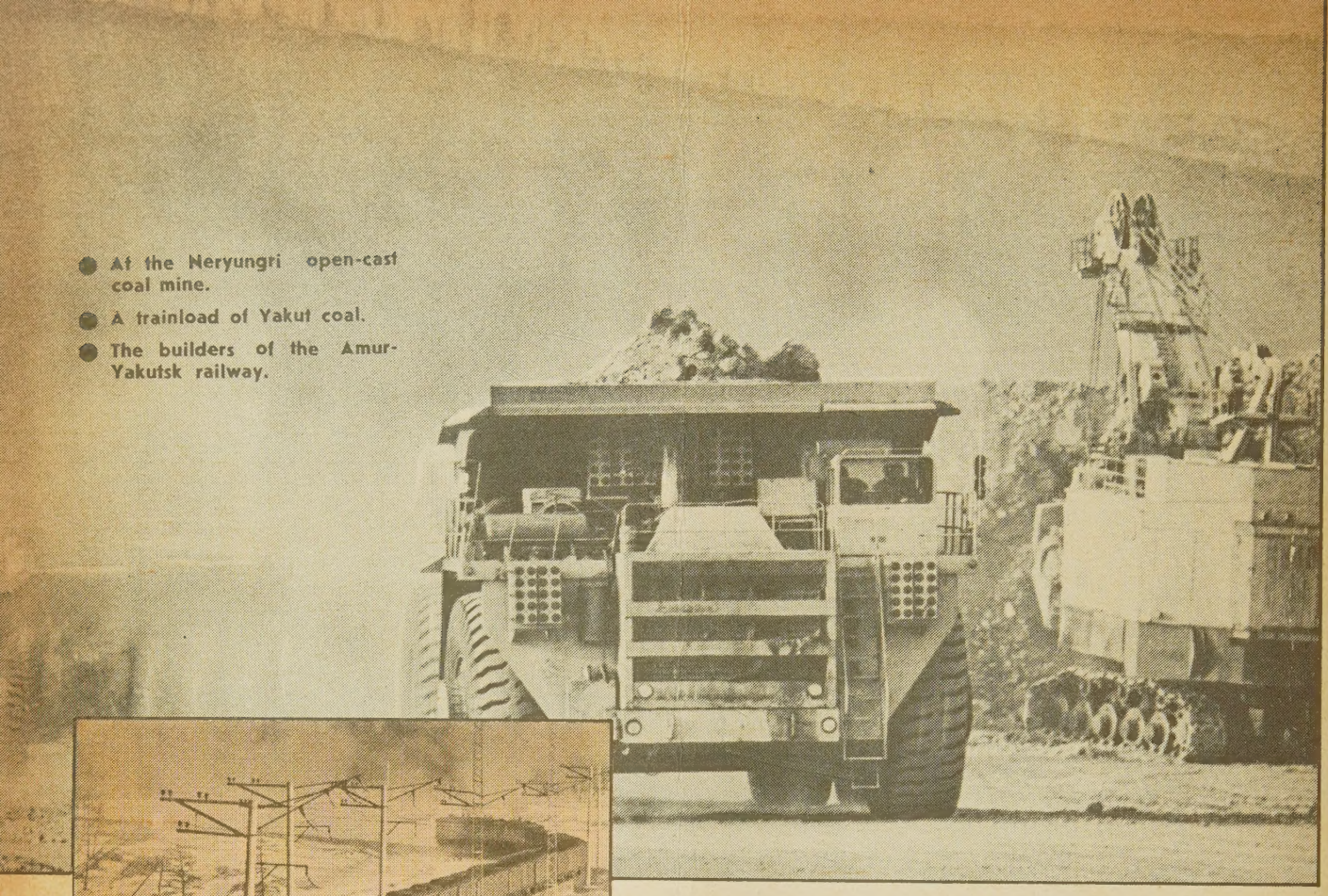
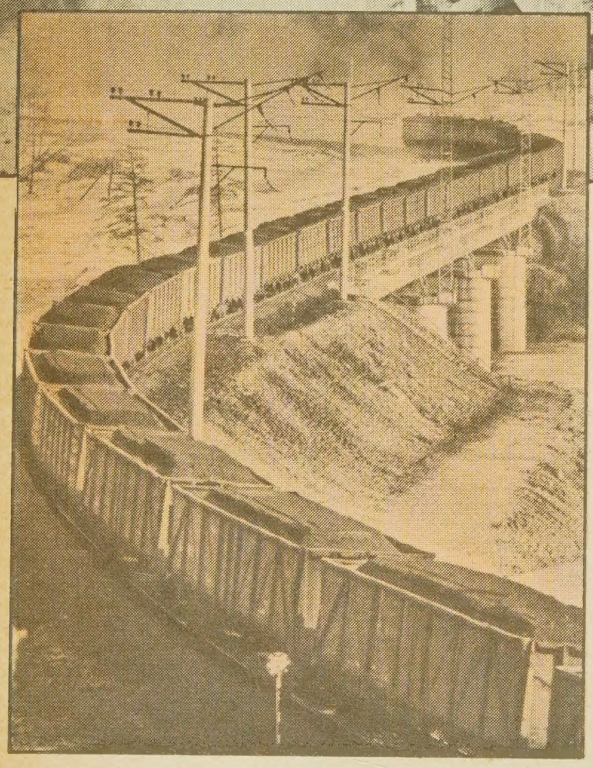
U.S.S.R.—U.S.A.: BUILD THE BRIDGE FROM BOTH SIDES

New Times Symposium

- At the Neryungri open-cast coal mine.
- A trainload of Yakut coal.
- The builders of the Amur-Yakutsk railway.





Far Northern Rail Link

Diamonds, gold, oil, gas, coal—the mineral wealth of Yakutia is well-nigh inexhaustible. But it is not easy of access. The only way to solve the problem here is to build a rail outlet to the Soviet Union's main transport arteries. The new 830-km. Amur-Yakutsk trunk line, now under construction, will connect the terminal station of the Tynda-Berkakit branch of the Amur-Baikal railway with the capital of the Yakut Autonomous Republic.

The headquarters of the construction job are located in Neryungri (not far from Berkakit), a town built in record time in permafrost conditions in the vicinity of rich deposits of high-grade coking coal.

Photos by A. Abaza

BUILD, NOT DESTROY

International cooperation is often likened to a two-way street or to bridge-building. In this context, incidentally, a bridge is not longer a mere figure of speech--it actually exists in the form of the TV programme "citizens' summit."

This issue carries a verbatim report of a Soviet-American symposium on the state of our bilateral relations. The symposium has revealed the complex problems involved in "bridging the gulf." Now, at the end of 1986, we can no longer be content with talking as long as there is no shooting. You cannot talk merely for the sake of talking, or regard negotiation as an end in itself. This is all the truer as we put forward concrete proposals for nuclear disarmament on January 15, 1986; a programme for nuclear arms reduction in June 1986; and, in October 1986, the boldest ideas ever to have ever been advanced at a Soviet-American meeting.

In the meantime, a strange "counter-process" is under way--that of undermining the abutments of understanding already built. Where did it start? Think of the impudent way in which the Americans deal with matters of bilateral trade, a potential prop for political dialogue. But even this pales before the Reagan Administration's treatment of such accords fundamental to Soviet-American relations as the ABM and SALT-2 treaties. The U.S. not only goes back on its commitments; it actually provokes us (I can't think of a more euphemistic term) into following suit. This applies in full to nuclear testing. While the Soviet Union displays extraordinary restraint, the U.S. defiantly continues with its explosions. Another nuclear blast has recently shaken Nevada. And once again, one has the impression that it was intended as an invitation to follow suit.

The Soviet Union has never regarded the fate of Soviet-American relations and the prevention of a nuclear holocaust as a bargaining counter or as a sore point. We realize that the choice of neighbours is not ours, and are therefore seeking ways to coexist in peace. However, socialist countries expect their Western partners to do likewise. The idea of proclaiming the outgoing year the International Year of Peace was to promote just such peaceful coexistence.

Building a lasting peace is no easy matter. Recently the U.N. adopted an important resolution on creating a comprehensive system of international peace and security. The U.S. voted against it. It is high time that Washington policy makers realized that by their destructive actions they will never compel the U.S.S.R. to answer in kind. We are going to build bridges, not to destroy them.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

●

Unfortunately, U.S. "star wars" plans are supported not only by the big bourgeoisie but all those we call the middle class, who as far as social consciousness is concerned differ little from those ready to plunge the world into nuclear war for their own selfish purposes. The mass media also do their share in this respect. That is not surprising since bourgeois newsmen cannot defend democratic values without impinging on their own interests.

Stephen CONTRADO
Hull, U.S.A.

●

If a communist writer in Italy writes a book of memoirs about anti-fascists he can be sure no publisher will accept it. The only way it will ever be printed is if the author publishes it at his own expense. At the same time books openly glorifying fascism are feely published.

Silvio SARZI-SARTORI
San Remo, Italy

●

Many people in the West know very little about our country. This was brought home to me once again recently when I met Marta Aslind of Sweden. She did not have the slightest idea of how Soviet people live and what they strive for. We both realized that personal contacts enable people not only to get to know one another better but also to find answers to the questions that agitate all of us. Marta Aslind and I now correspond regularly. In my letters I tell her all about our city and keep her informed of important events in the U.S.S.R.

Maria VDOVITSYNA
Leningrad, U.S.S.R.

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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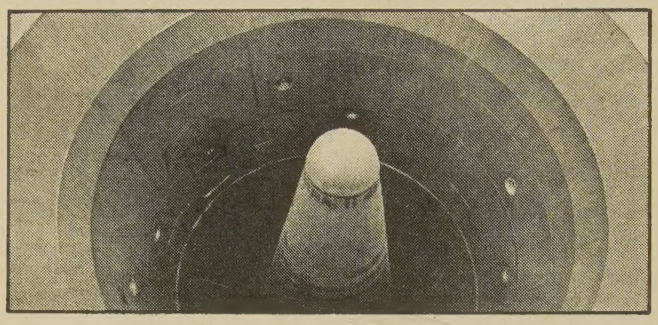

OUR MISSILE SHIELD

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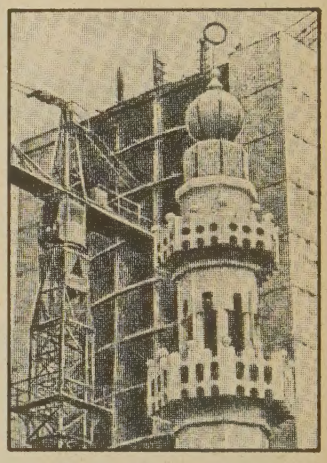

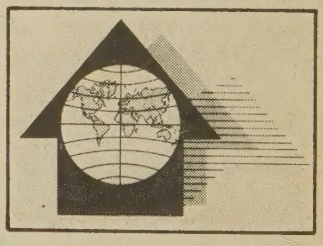

THE ECOLOGICAL THREAT

It is a matter of common concern, says Norway's Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, chairwoman of the World Commission on Environment and Development

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Economic Cooperation:

Its Scale, Its Record, Its Future

Interview with Soviet Deputy Premier VLADIMIR KAMENTSEV

The Soviet-Indian summit in Delhi highly assessed the dynamic development of mutually beneficial trade and economic relations between our two countries. Could you briefly review the record of this cooperation for our readers?

I think two figures are indicative. More than 60 industrial and other installations built with Soviet cooperation have appeared on the economic map of India. They form the backbone of its public sector. About 40 projects are on the drawing board or under construction.

For over three decades our economic and technical cooperation has been geared to helping India build up its economic potential, notably heavy industry. The Bhilai steel plant was the pioneering project.

Ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, heavy engineering, prospecting for oil and gas, oil refining, coal and power generation are the main areas of Soviet assistance, the efforts of our design offices and production plants and specialists at various levels in the industrial development of India.

Greeting Mikhail Gorbachev in parliament, the Indian Vice-President, Mr Venkataraman, described Soviet-Indian economic cooperation as a unique saga worthy of imitation.

It is unique and worth imitating in the sense that it may provide a model for mutually beneficial and equal business cooperation between states with different social systems. It is an example of the peaceful coexistence of such states, of relations based on the principles of equality, mutual respect and the consideration of mutual interests, strict observance of sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's affairs. The scale of Soviet-Indian economic cooperation and its concrete results are impressive.

But equally important, I think, is the atmosphere—at once businesslike and friendly—that characterizes cooperation between Soviet and Indian organizations, and Soviet and Indian experts. They work very closely together in tackling the engineering and technological problems that arise.

I for one have never heard of any conflicts between them, for all that hundreds, thousands of Soviet citizens worked and are working at joint construction projects in India. Among them are engineers, technicians and skilled workers.

I think it was this friendly atmosphere that the Indian Vice-President also had in mind when he described our economic cooperation as a saga.

Has the range of priorities in the joint construction of projects changed with time?

In the 1980s India is giving priority to its fuel and energy potential. That is why the power, coal and oil industries, along with metallurgy, are now the main areas of our cooperation.

What is the role of enterprises built with Soviet assistance in India's economic development?

They help India to achieve self-sufficiency in a number of areas. I can cite the following data. The enterprises built with Soviet cooperation now account for 36 per cent of the country's output of steel, 32 per cent of that of aluminium, 23 per cent of that of crude oil and 47 per cent of refined oil, 77 per cent of metallurgical, 47 per cent of power, 43 per cent of mining equipment, and 9 per cent of electric energy.

The engineering plants built with Soviet assistance in Ranchi, Hardwar and Durgapur account for a large share of the sophisticated equipment for new steel plants, power stations, and coal mines, thus removing or drastically reducing the need to import such equipment from abroad. Moreover, these plants manufacture various units and equipment with the use of Soviet components for export to the Soviet Union and to third countries.

Could you name some of the projects nearing completion? When will they be put into operation?

Of the major ones let me name two. The thermal power station at Vindhyachal in the state of Madhya Pradesh will be launched next summer, when the first of its six 210,000-kilowatt generators becomes operational. Construction work has entered the final phase on the steel complex in Visakhapatnam on the east coast. The first section is to be completed in 1988. The third enterprise of its kind after Bhilai and Bokaro, it is one of the most up-to-date in terms of equipment and technology. It will use only converters for making steel.

During Mikhail Gorbachev's recent visit to Delhi, you and India's Minister of External Affairs Tiwari signed a new agreement on economic and technical cooperation. What is the substance of the agreement?

Under the agreement, the Soviet Union will help India carry out a whole range of projects. Among them is the construction of a large hydropower complex in Teri in the state of Uttar Pradesh. It will comprise three hydro-

power stations with a total capacity of 2.4 million kilowatts. Another major project is the reconstruction of the converter shops and modernization of the "2,000" hot steel rolling mill at the Bokaro plant. The expansion of its capacity to 4 million tons a year has practically been completed. We shall help build four mines at Jharia in the state of Bihar, which will produce eight million tons of coking coal a year. Finally, we shall prospect for oil and gas in West Bengal.

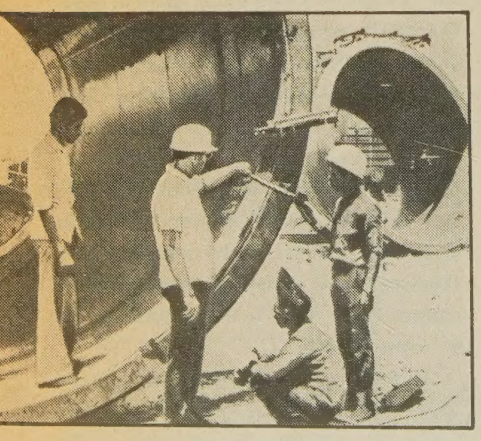
Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi described this agreement as the biggest in the history of economic relations between our countries. What does that mean?

The agreed projects are very big in terms of capacity and require more capital investment. For this purpose the Soviet Union has granted the largest soft-term credit in the history of its economic ties with India.

While on the subject of credits, I would like to put the question our readers ask in their letters. How does India repay Soviet credits granted for the construction of projects?

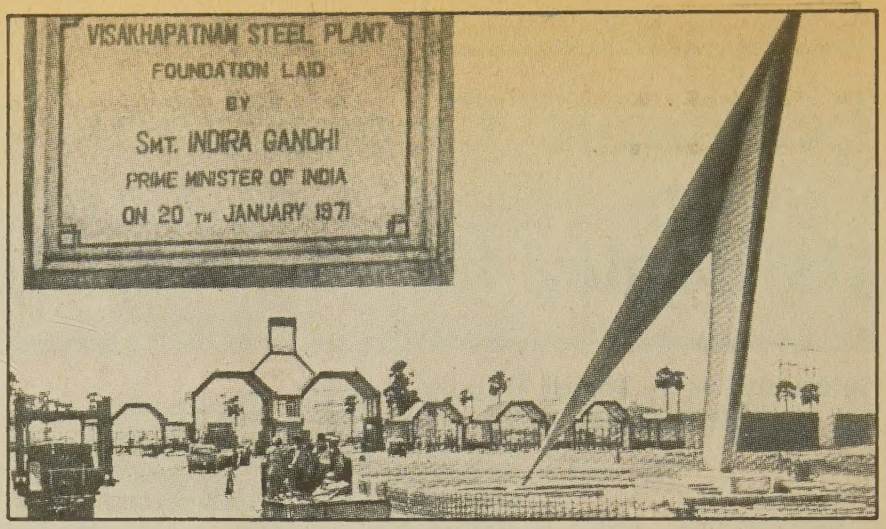
India regularly and timely repays all Soviet credits in rupees with which the Soviet Union buys goods necessary to its economy. These include consumer goods and foodstuffs such as knitwear, clothing, tea, coffee and spices.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi spoke about new forms and methods of economic exchange. What did they have in mind? What forms and methods are being planned or introduced to tap the potential for mutually beneficial cooperation?



Indian and Soviet specialists are collaborating at the Vindhyachal power project.

APN photos



Obelisk commemorating the start of the construction of the steel plant in Visakhapatnam.

Our country has embarked on a drastic restructuring of its economic mechanism along with modernization and retooling on the basis of the latest scientific and technological achievements. India is also committed to accelerating its social and economic development in order to enter the 21st century as a powerful modern state with a highly developed economy.

These major challenges in domestic development require new modes of cooperation. The search for such new approaches was reflected in the agreement on basic directions of economic, trade, scientific and technological cooperation up to the year 2000 signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi in Moscow in May 1985. The agreement lays emphasis on the development and introduction of new types of equipment and modern technologies, modernization and retooling of enterprises, raising labour productivity, and on new projects, especially in the fuel and energy field.

Negotiations along these lines were successfully continued during Gorbachev's visit to Delhi in November. Experts in the two countries are working out concrete measures to implement the agreement.

They are discussing, among other things, ways of developing and intensifying production cooperation between Soviet organizations and various Indian companies, both state-owned and private. Also planned is the joint production of goods for India and the Soviet Union and for export to third countries.

Soviet-Indian trade is growing dynamically. Last year it topped the three billion ruble mark. But the drop in world oil prices (we export oil to India) has brought a certain imbalance to our trade. What is being done to balance exports and imports in the near future?

Under the trade protocol for 1987 signed in November, India will buy a range of Soviet goods it did not previously import. They include coking coal and various chemicals. Soviet supplies of machines and equipment and some other goods will increase.

An important new element is the growing involvement of private Indian firms. The India-U.S.S.R. Chamber of Commerce and Industry set up last year includes many Indian businessmen who want to sell their goods to the U.S.S.R. and buy Soviet goods, particularly equipment.

What effect are the current changes in Soviet foreign trade and foreign economic activity likely to have on Soviet-Indian economic relations?

Shall we see joint Soviet-Indian enterprises? If so, in what branches?

Yes, this is a possibility. I believe they will be primarily industrial enterprises based on up-to-date technology.

Interviewer A. USVATOV

NATO

Retreat from Reykjavik

● THE TRADITIONAL WINTER CONFERENCES OF NATO'S GOVERNING BODIES CAME TO A CLOSE IN BRUSSELS ON DECEMBER 12.

As in previous years, the conferences were broken up into two rounds—military, attended by defence ministers and top-ranking army personnel, and political (at foreign ministers' level).

Reykjavik was one of the main items on the conferences' agenda. In their respective communiqués the Euro-Group, the Defence Planning Committee and the North Atlantic Council enthused over the Soviet-American summit. In the opinion of West European defence ministers it has "improved prospects" for arms control. The foreign ministers described it as "an important milestone in East-West relations." However, NATO confined itself to verbal praise. Moreover, it persisted in retreating from Reykjavik at the Brussels conference. Such was the conclusion drawn by most of the newsmen who covered the winter conferences' proceedings. The International Herald Tribune, for instance, pointed out that NATO had "consolidated a steady retreat from some of the more ambitious propositions entertained by Mr Reagan and Mr Gorbachev."

In all the documents adopted in the Belgian capital, the elimination of nuclear weapons—one of the key subjects of the Reykjavik discussions—has been replaced by partial measures in this direction. The foreign ministers (like their military colleagues) voiced NATO's readiness to reduce their stockpiles of strategic arms by a mere 50 per cent, and preferred to shelve the radical solution of the nuclear problem. Lord Carrington, NATO Secretary-General, was absolutely frank. "In the near future," he told newsmen, "it is impossible to reach a point without a mix of nuclear and conventional weapons." General Wolfgang Altenburg (F.R.G.), the new chairman of the Military Committee, made no secret of his view that conventional weaponry would "not substitute nuclear" arms.

NATO's reasons for refusing to eliminate nuclear weapons are that without them Western security would be in jeopardy owing to the overwhelming superiority of the U.S.S.R. and its allies in conventional weapons.

After the Warsaw Treaty countries put forward their programme for a sharp reduction in armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, the North Atlantic alliance fell into a prolonged reverie. The socialist countries' Budapest Appeal remained unanswered for six months, and similar Soviet initiative, for eight months. Feeling that the breathing space had dragged on for too long, the NATO foreign ministers finally hatched the Brussels Declaration on Conventional Arms Control on December 11.

They agreed in principle with the proposal put forward by the U.S.S.R. and its allies to start negotiating the problem of conventional arms reduction over the whole of European territory—from the Atlantic to the Urals. This is certainly a positive development. At the same time, the Brussels declaration contains a number of objectionable conclusions and provisions. For instance, it denies the fact of military stability in Europe, and alleges that the odds are in the East's favour. Such a concept is nothing new. It has been keeping the Vienna talks at a deadlock for more than 13 years. The "imbalance theory" is based on the asymmetry of the two military alliances' armed forces, which is not a sign of their inequality. The scales will balance if we hold them evenly and take into account the qualitative as well as the quantitative aspect of conventional weapons, plus the military potentials of France and Spain, which Western experts are inclined to forget all about. The International Institute for Strategic Studies (London) is of the opinion that "the conventional military balance is still such as to make general military aggression a highly risky undertaking for either side." A few days after the Reykjavik summit, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz confirmed this by saying that NATO was capable of opposing the Warsaw Treaty "at any level."

Before the adoption of the Brussels declaration, Western propaganda shouted from the rooftops that the West was working out "bold initiatives" and seeking "new approaches." All the Atlantic mountain has brought forth, however, was a mere mouse as compared with the Budapest Appeal. The socialist countries have formulated a concrete programme for radical troop and arms reduction in Europe. The programme provides for reducing all the components of the armed forces on the continent—the ground troops and the air force, as well as the tactical nuclear arms they are equipped with. The Warsaw Treaty countries have suggested that in a year or two the numerical strength of the armed groupings confronting each other be reduced by 100,000-150,000 men on the either side, and that the ground troops and tactical strike air forces of each alliance be cut by 25 per cent towards the early 1990s. The Brussels declaration contains no such provisions. In it, NATO merely consents to negotiations and repeats the Western side's shopworn clichés.

A Libre Belgique correspondent warns that such an approach on the part of the West could well be interpreted as a "new 'double-track' decision on conventional weapons." This is a well-grounded warning, all the more so as, in response to the Warsaw Treaty countries' proposal for mutual troop reduction, the NATO defence ministers discussed the problems involved in further increasing the destructive power of conventional weapons, using high technology, developing and producing, by joint effort, new-generation weapons and combat equipment. In the coming year the West European NATO member states alone will adopt 425 of the latest tanks and armoured vehicles, 170 war planes, about 70 helicopters, nearly 14,000 anti-tank missiles, eight men-of-war, and many other weapons. All this will call for no small additional expenditure.

Lord Carrington told a press conference: "We need more expenditure and not less expenditure." In their press interviews, NATO leaders did not conceal their intention to press for higher arms allocations, although official statistics (far from complete and leaving Spain out of account) put NATO's military spending at nearly $400 billion. Even Western top-ranking military and politicians admit that this is far in excess of the Warsaw Treaty figure.

The Brussels conferences also discussed the question of supplementing the American "space shield" with a West European ABM belt. The debates revealed that the allies were divided on that score. The U.S. and the F.R.G. are the chief proponents of Euro-SDI. Greece, Denmark and some other countries are against it, and many are still undecided, so Washington has decided to bribe its allies into submission. Caspar Weinberger told newsmen that $14

million had been allocated for joint research into the West European ABM system idea. This research is to be carried out by 51 firms, 29 of them West European. Fourteen million dollars are just a drop in the ocean: the cost of deploying the ABM belt could run into billions. The Guardian comments, however, that politically "they are seen here at NATO as a way of further involving the Europeans in 'star wars.'"

The Americans arrived in Brussels with their reputation marred. At a press conference newsmen showered George Shultz and Caspar Weinberger with questions about "Irangate," their reasons for retreating from Reykjavik, and the breach of SALT-2 which troubled even the most loyal of their allies. Evading these awkward questions, the Secretary of State and the Pentagon chief tried to digress. George Shultz, for instance, preferred to hold forth about "violations of human rights" in the U.S.S.R. According to a Le Soir (Belgium) correspondent, many were surprised at the persistence with which the U.S. Secretary of State stuck to this theme. "Throwing the human rights issue into the discussion of disarmament problems was looked on by European diplomats as saddling the war horse and as a sign that augurs ill of efforts to reduce East-West tension."

To sum up, by retreating from Reykjavik at its Brussels conferences, the North Atlantic alliance has taken another step along the militarist road.

V. BOIKOV
Trud correspondent
(for New Times)

Brussels

F.R.G.

Submarine Secret Surfaces

● ANOTHER POLITICAL ROW HAS ERUPTED IN BONN.

It is amazingly similar to Washington's "Irangate." In both capitals events are developing on a parallel course. Both concern illicit arms deliveries. Top statesmen are involved in both cases. Desperate efforts are being made to stifle the whole affair in both places.

Late last month the newspaper Kieler Nachrichten, known to few outside the West German province of Schleswig-Holstein, frontpaged a dispatch that was of more than local significance. The Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft shipbuilding firm of Kiel, it said, had sold South Africa the blueprints for the latest submarine for 46 million marks without the government's special permission.

This is not the first time West German arms concerns have effected illicit deliveries to pro-fascist and racist regimes, as well as to flashpoints. The trial of the Rheinmetall board, which for many years circumvented the law to export machine guns, ordnance and munitions to Latin America and the Middle East as well as to South Africa, ended in Düsseldorf only recently. But while Rheinmetall is privately-owned, the Kiel shipyard is three-quarters owned by the state concern Salzgitter, and the remaining quarter by the government of Schleswig-Holstein. The activities of state-owned enterprises are controlled by the finance ministry, which is represented on the supervisory board of Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft. Could the shipyard management have decided to sell the blueprints without the backing of their superiors? After all, they are well aware that arms deliveries to the racist regime are forbidden by a U.N. resolution, which is binding on the F.R.G., as well as by Common Market rulings and F.R.G. legislation as such.

Light was unexpectedly thrown on this shady affair by Bavarian premier Franz-Josef Strauss, chairman of the Christian Social Union, who in a Bild-Zeitung interview noted that South Africa's ambassador to Bonn had asked him to assist in the purchase of West German submarines, as originally the issue was one of acquiring submarines, not blueprints. In turn, Strauss discussed the matter with Chancellor Helmut Kohl and eventually secured a "positive response."

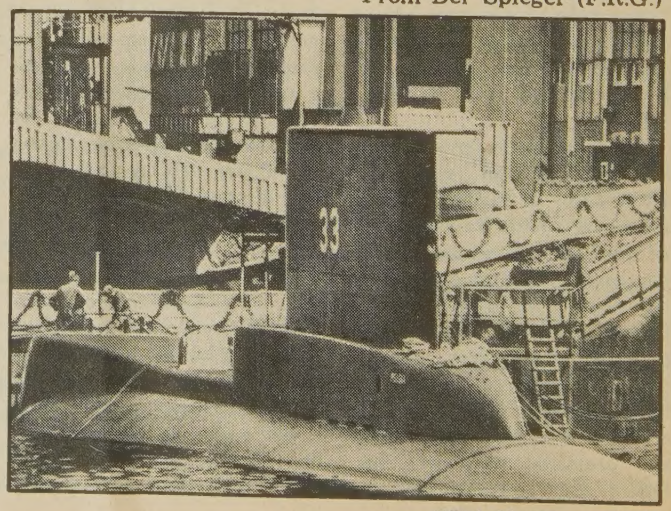
After Strauss's sensational announcement a news conference was urgently convened in Bonn at which Wolfgang Schäuble, chief of the federal chancellery, attempted to construe Kohl's "positive response" as merely having supposedly agreed to "study" the matter—as if it had not been clear from the outset that the law prohibits such deals with South Africa. According to Schäuble, the government had not given its official permission for the delivery of submarines or the relevant technical specifications to South Africa. However, as Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg admitted that same day, the government had known as early as the summer of 1985 that the blueprints had gone to South Africa. He had even instructed Schleswig-Holstein's financial agencies to start an inquiry, which is still dragging on.

Could this mean that the shipyard's management acted off its own bat?

The evidence that came to light after Schäuble's news conference refutes this. Newspapers featured documents made available to them which show that the federal chancellery knew about the deal and helped to put it through. On July 23, 1984, Waldemar Schreckenberger, the then chief of the chancellery, advised an executive of the shipyards in a telephone conversation to "start working" as Kohl and Strauss were "interested." He gave assurances that official permission would be given after the parliamentary recess was over. A little later blueprints for the submarine were handed to a South African representative. So should the shipyard's management ever have doubted the assurances of the Chancellor's immediate associate? After all, they had earlier ob-

U-boats for Pretoria.

From Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)



tained permission for similarly shady deals, the delivery of submarines to Chilean dictator Pinochet, for instance.

Note the date—July 23, 1984. Seven weeks earlier, on June 5, 1984, Chancellor Helmut Kohl received South African racist leader Pieter Botha whom the F.R.G. government, despite public protest, had invited on an official visit to Bonn. Could they have then discussed, among other things, plans for providing South Africa with specifications for the submarine? At any rate, Bundestag opposition deputies have suggested that they did.

The row is far from over. On the suggestion of the Greens and the Social Democrats, a special parliamentary commission has been established to inquire into all the details of this shameful deal with the racists. It is for this body to elucidate the role played in it by the Chancellor and other coalition leaders. Why has the shipyard's management who directly violated the law and all who profited by the deal not been called to account? The list of queries is reminiscent of questions now engaging the attention of the U.S. Senate commission of inquiry into "Irangate."

In the meantime, as far as can be judged, the racists have already started to build submarines. Early this year a leading specialist left the staff of the Kiel shipyard and went to South Africa. His colleagues believe he is the right man to get submarine production under way in line with West German technical specifications.

A. TOLPEGIN
our own correspondent

Bonn

LEBANON

War of the Camps

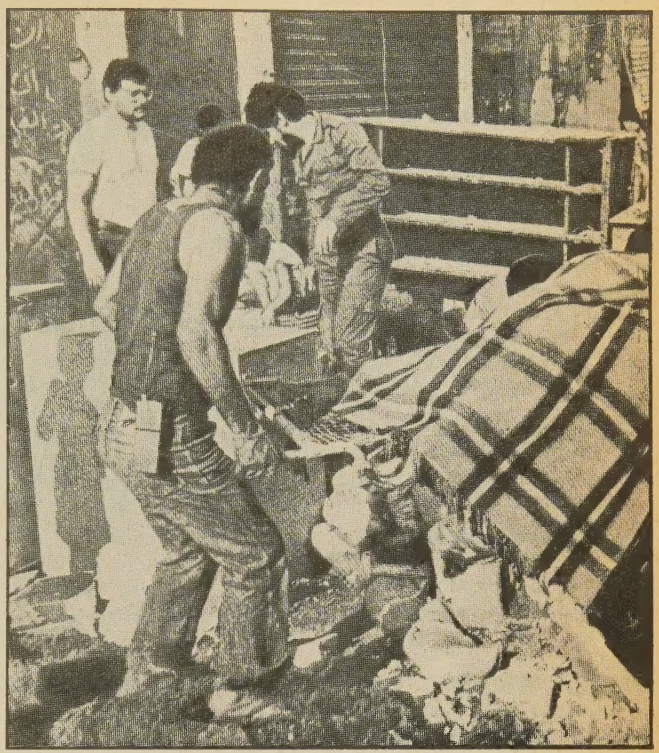
● ISRAELI AIRCRAFT ARE REPEATEDLY BOMBING PALESTINIAN REFUGEE CAMPS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF LEBANON.

The latest bombing raid was on December 15, bringing the total number this year to 19. Meanwhile Tel Aviv is toughening its punitive operations against the Palestinian population in the occupied territories in the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that for nearly two months now Palestinian refugee camps on Lebanese territory are being attacked by ground forces as well.

There is nothing new about the conflicts with the Palestine Resistance movement. But never perhaps have they been so violent and bloody as at present. Pitched battles between the militia of the Shiite Amal movement, supported by some Lebanese army units, and the Palestinian fighters are being fought in the area of the Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon and the environs of Western Beirut, with heavy arms and tanks being brought into play.

The Arab press reported that on the night of October 23 a group of armed men attacked Amal positions not far from the city of Tyre, and within one kilometre of the Palestinian refugee camp of Rashidia. The Amal forces suffered casualties in killed and wounded. The Lebanese L'Orient-Le Jour, al-Liwa and several other newspapers, citing unnamed Amal spokesmen in Beirut, said the attack was staged by Israeli commandos who came ashore from inflatable dinghies and returned to base, after this aggressive sally, on Israeli torpedo boats patrolling Lebanese waters.



The day's victims at the Rashidia camp.
From the Palestinian magazine Al-Hadaf

The Amal, however, issued an official statement blaming the assault on Palestinian supporters of Yasser Arafat stationed in the Rashidia camp. After the initial Amal raid on this camp fierce fighting broke out between armed Amal and Palestinian detachments around other Palestinian refugee camps with the object of blocking them. By mid-December the number of casualties approached 500 killed and 1,500 wounded. Attempts to send in local "disengagement forces" to separate the conflicting sides have failed, and the ceasefire agreements announced from time to time are invariably broken.

Similarly ineffective was the agreement on ending the bloodshed drawn up by the patriotic forces of Lebanon. As Muhammad Fadlallah, the spiritual leader of the Shiite Hezbollah Party, has said, in the conditions prevailing in Lebanon no one can order such agreements to be carried out.

Things are further complicated by the fact that a number of Lebanese political groupings are opposed to the presence of armed Palestinians in Lebanon, since, they say, this can only serve to make the country a victim of Israeli aggression again, as in 1982.

And so the Palestinians are once again in a tragic plight. Those who want Lebanon relieved of their presence cannot provide the answer to the main question: where are they and their families to go? The neighbouring Arab countries are unwilling to accept them, and their native land is occupied by the Zionists.

To speak of disarming the Palestinians is also difficult. Can people who have gone through the hell of Sabra and Shatila, who are constantly exposed to attacks by Israeli troops and Israeli agencies be expected to agree to be left unarmed in such an environment?

The position of the Palestinians is complicated still

more by the disunity that exists in the ranks of their recognized vanguard—the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The present fratricidal struggle plays into the hands of imperialism and Zionism, the sworn enemies of the Arabs. The Palestinian fighters are thus caught between two fires in the full sense of the word. It is not unlikely that the present act of the Palestinian tragedy is an instance of Israeli subversion.

D. ZGERSKY

SOUTH PACIFIC

Rarotonga: Two Reactions

● AFTER AUSTRALIA TRANSMITTED THE RELEVANT INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICATION ON DECEMBER 11, THUS BECOMING THE EIGHTH COUNTRY TO DO SO, THE RAROTONGA TREATY TO MAKE THE SOUTH PACIFIC A DENUCLEARIZED ZONE ENTERED INTO FORCE.

Drafted last year by 13 states party to the South Pacific Forum, it proclaims the entire South Pacific from the Equator to Antarctica a nuclear-weapon-free zone. This represents a major move of principle, demonstrating the political maturity of the nations and governments in the region.

How do the nuclear powers see the treaty? On December 15 the Soviet Union affixed its signature to Rarotonga Treaty Protocols No. 2 and No. 3, which envisage a commitment by the nuclear powers to observe the zone's denuclearized status. The People's Republic of China has also supported the treaty and stated that it is prepared to observe it. As for the U.S., no response has so far been forthcoming. On the other hand, Paris has reacted negatively, even provocatively. On December 11, the day on which the Rarotonga Treaty entered into force, France carried out another atomic explosion, the eighth this year, on the Mururoa Atoll, which brings the total of tests so far to 81.

These young Kanaks are determined to win national independence.
From Paris-Match (France)

One cannot fail to notice that this deliberate slighting of the resolve of the governments and nations of the South Pacific is coupled with the negative attitude the French authorities have adopted to the problem of nuclear disarmament in general. Like the U.S., France is continuing with nuclear testing, despite the 16-month Soviet moratorium.

The Pacific nations see each new French nuclear explosion on Mururoa as a challenge. Moreover growing resentment of the French nuclear testing programme in Polynesia, the British Financial Times observes, is coupled with similarly growing indignation there over "France's colonial presence in New Caledonia."

On the initiative of the South Pacific Forum, the U.N. General Assembly decided by a majority vote on December 2 to put New Caledonia on the U.N. list of non-self-governing territories subject to decolonization. The inalienable right of the population of the archipelago to self-determination and independence has been reaffirmed. Despite powerful French lobbying, the Hongkong Far Eastern Economic Review reports, the Kanak movement for independence (the Kanaks are New Caledonia's indigenous population) is winning increasing international recognition.

A salient feature of the situation in the archipelago, which possesses large nickel deposits, is that the indigenous inhabitants comprise a minority of 43 per cent of the total population. This is the result of long-term operations by Paris, which encouraged settlement there of metropolitan whites, as well as Asiatics from the former French colonies and Polynesians from the neighbouring islands, all of whom are opposed to the independence movement. Under the Socialists, Paris did seek to introduce self-government, albeit hesitantly and inconsistently, but now, with the advent to power in France of the right-wing parties, there has been a complete reversal of this policy.

The local French authorities and the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front, which represents most of the indigenous population, are now arguing as to who should be allowed to take part in the referendum, scheduled for next year, to determine the future of the overseas territory. As Far Eastern Economic Review believes, Paris is now relying for the most part on suppression, reprisal and even provocation with respect to the Kanaks.

In short, France is taking an increasingly insolent stand on the issues that agitate the South Pacific community.

A. IGNATOV

Augusto Forti: "Survival Through Creativity"

Augusto Forti, a prominent scientist and public figure, member of the UNESCO Secretariat and head of its department of scientific research and higher education, was one of the participants in the Issyk Kul forum held recently in our country. He granted our magazine the interview printed below.

How would you comment on the nature and outcome of the Issyk Kul forum?

Today physicists communicate in terms of formulae, artists in terms of line and colour, and so on. I think it was an excellent idea to invite people of various professions from various countries to discuss their role in the modern world, and the creative potential of man which can help him survive.

In the past there have been cases of scientists and artists coming together to form common movements. I'd like to tell you a story. At the beginning of the century, Marie Curie, Natalya Goncharova and Mikhail Larionov met in the Paris bistro called Petit Saint Benoit. Marie Curie told her Russian artist friends about the discovery she had just made, whose future she had no conception of. It is worthy of special note that Marie Curie shared her joy with them before submitting the discovery to the French Academy. Her story inspired Goncharova and Larionov to found a trend in art which they called "luchism"— a derivative of the Russian word "luch" meaning "a ray." The artists had proved quicker than scientists to appreciate the epoch-making importance of the new breakthrough. Larionov even painted pictures conveying his ideas of how the wonder-working rays would change life in the future.

The Issyk Kul forum brought together scientists, artists, writers, actors, philosophers and public figures concerned about the fate of the planet, and this was good. Today none of us can live and work in complete isolation from others. In the same way, different sciences cannot make further progress without keeping in touch with each other. Physics, for instance, is drawing increasingly close to biology and is becoming more and more preoccupied with man. In other words, it is to an ever greater extent becoming one of the humanities.

As a scientist, I am forever asking myself a multitude of questions. A man of science seeking to discover new laws cannot but take the laws discovered before him with a pinch of salt. You cannot make headway unless you are sceptical about past achievements. I must say I am not at all happy about certain minor technical discoveries and improvements of a transient and ephemeral nature. The truth does not lie in electronics. Man can survive and transform the world only by virtue of his creative potential and his insatiable desire to create. Some insects, bees for instance, are much better organized than we are. Nevertheless, even the best organized institutions created by man are hardly likely to be of much help to him in building a happy future. On the contrary, bureaucracy inhibits man's creative abilities, which have always seen him through natural calamities, as well as those inflicted upon him by his fellow-creatures.

Today man often stops to think about himself, his future and the Earth which has changed so much over the centuries. Aitmatov's speech at the forum made a deep impression on me in this connection. It contained lasting rather than transient truths. I see Aitmatov as a man with deep roots who is completely down to earth. His speech seemed to be composed of heavy blocks of solid rock, not of words. And rock lasts millions of years, withstanding the enormous pressure of fluctuations in temperature and other environmental effects. Aitmatov did not merely invite us, he went out of his way to make us feel at home. This unconstrained atmosphere contributed to the outcome of the forum. It was an extremely rare case of people from different countries, with different professions, different philosophies and different degrees of social involvement drawing up and signing a joint document expressing their common concern for our future.

Our future, you say! Or the future of generations to come!

Ours, too. I am a very happy man, and I am going to live a long time, and make it to at least a hundred. In Kirghizia we were given a wonder-working balm prepared from local herbs, but I think that what really prolongs life is love of people. Look at Peter Ustinov (who also took part in the forum). He enjoys life and gives joy to all around him.

Nevertheless, we really must draw young people into the movement which has started here on the shores of the Issyk Kul. It is up to the young to discuss and build their future. Even though they lack our generation's experience and worldly wisdom, they are seething with the creative energy that is especially characteristic of the young.

You must have met many old friends of yours at this forum.

It has indeed been a happy reunion with old friends who have brought their new ideas to the Issyk Kul. All of them are now looking to the future more optimistically than they did twenty years ago. Each of us has come to realize that people must find a way of coexisting with each other and work out a common stand on the paramount issue of today. We are convinced that all of us can get along splendidly together on our mother Earth.

What is the difference between intellectuals and politicians? Unfortunately not all those engaged in politics are distinguished by their foresight. What a politician like Reagan, for instance, really cares about is the next election, rather than the future of mankind. Indeed, Reagan is not free at all: he is under pressure from the Pentagon, the monopolies, the media and many other forces which dictate the stand he takes at this or that juncture.

Our vision of the world is completely different from Reagan's. We cannot help but think about what the world will be like in twenty, thirty or a hundred years from now. We hope that our present problems will have been resolved by then. The Issyk Kul forum has demonstrated a new approach to these problems and new thinking on the part of its participants—a thinking free of outdated ideological and scientific stereotypes. We must all do our bit to build such a future.

The reception given us by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev confirmed that we had done good work and made an important contribution to the development of good relations and further dialogue between nations.

Interviewer: N. POPOVA

Holes in the White House Defence

The attempts to smother the arms shipments scandal are not succeeding

It continues to metastasize in Washington's corridors of power. From the White House basement, where the National Security Council meets, it has spread upwards to government offices linked in one way or another with the outside world, such as the State Department, the CIA and the Pentagon. The Iranian arms deals originally spotlighted have merely served as a catalyst.

It is also significant that after the initial confusion and attempts, by flatly denying everything, to nip the scandal in the bud, the White House took refuge in a series of ruses. When the resignation of John Poindexter, the President's national security adviser, and the sacking of his aide Oliver North failed to help, Ronald Reagan eventually acknowledged the "errors" of his policy vis-à-vis Iran, which his supporters had been urging him to do for weeks. A commission has been instituted to give "comprehensive study" to the role and activities of the National Security Council. A special prosecutor has been appointed to undertake an "independent" inquiry. For his part, the President promised to make a "full disclosure" and take every step required.

Putting a Spoke in the Wheel

Behind all this we can discern plans now to hoax, now to hoodwink the disturbed and distrustful public.

The newly established commission to "study" the National Security Council is unlikely to do more than produce another report that will also gather dust on the shelves. The appointment of a special prosecutor is to coax the public into believing that all secret deals will be disclosed. Further, behind this cover the Administration may question or stonewall inquiries instigated by Senate and House committees. Meanwhile, the Ethics in Government Act of 1978, which has been invoked to appoint the special prosecutor, abounds in restrictions and reservations that virtually exclude the possibility of an unbiassed inquiry. At any rate, all six special prosecutors appointed until now have always operated in secrecy and have never conducted public hearings, nor is there any reason to expect that the same practice will not be followed now. One of the aides of the Attorney General said they did not want to see another bungled presidency.

The same holds good for promises to cooperate with Congress to effect a "full disclosure." The Administration is refusing to furnish any additional information, invoking the prerogative of the executive. As for the specific individuals involved, when Poindexter, North and the President's former national security adviser Robert McFarlane were subpoenaed to testify before Congress, an official spokesman for the President said these men had been told there was no objection to their testifying provided they took into consideration the advice of their lawyers and their constitutional rights, especially the Fifth Amendment. The Fifth Amendment says: "...nor shall [any person] be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." Poindexter, North and retired General Secord have invoked the Fifth Amendment not to answer questions.

Lieutenant Colonel Robert Earle and military-political affairs department director Howard Teicher, also members of the National Security Council staff, are adhering to the same tactic when testifying before Congress. It is worth recalling that when the "witch-hunt" was at its height in the 1950s, Ronald Reagan loudly opposed the invoking of the Fifth Amendment by Communists who were then being openly harassed and persecuted.

In short, Congressional inquiries are being stonewalled. Considering that Poindexter and North have already managed to destroy a pile of secret documents (according to the New York Times, "...the only lesson this Administration has learned from Watergate is to burn the tapes"), the question begs: are the men who carried out clandestine and illicit operations worried only about their own skins?

From that point of view the "odd game" being played in connection with the Swiss bank account is symptomatic. At the U.S. government's request it was "frozen." However, the official request, for which the Swiss authorities had to wait a whole week, was worded so equivocally that it could not serve as a juridical basis for the measure. Now the account has been "unfrozen," which will at least allow traces to be covered up in Switzerland.

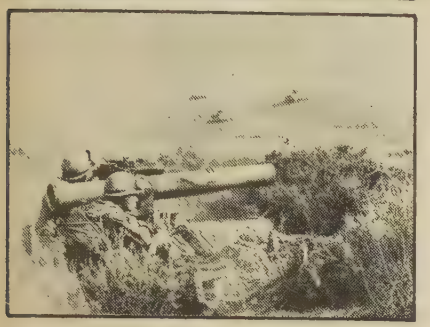
At the same time attempts are being made to launch a counteroffensive. Ronald Reagan himself showed the way when he termed Oliver North "a national hero." Four times the President asked Congressional Republican leaders for their backing, and got it. He is endeavouring to divert attention from the government crisis by stressing that there are many other headaches. This is quite true. The Attorney General is exhorting all cabinet members to stand "shoulder to shoulder" with the President. This particularly applies to the Congressional inquiry that has been set up. Meanwhile Patrick Buchanan, the White House communications director and the President's chief speech writer, has stressed that nobody ever ordered anyone to abandon Reagan's ship. He argues that it is not a matter of whether the letter of the law has been broken or not; what is important, he contends, is whether it will be possible to halt communism in Central America.

It has been observed that these calculations are far from being unfounded. The sudden exposure and scale of the illicit operations caught top Congressmen and the leaders of both parties napping. Only recently the Republicans predicted that their party would remain at the centre of the U.S. political stage at least until the end of the century. But today Republican Senate leader Robert Dole is urging the earliest resolution of the crisis, while party prospects for the 1988 elections have not been completely subverted. The Democrats, in turn, are not rushing to floor their political rivals, afraid that they might in so doing shake the foundations of the political structure. Democratic Senator Sam Nunn says that everyone should help the President to restore trust in U.S. foreign policy, as there is no alternative. They cannot afford two years with a president whose hands are tied, he adds.

Murder Will Out

Loss of confidence in the White House has indeed assumed no small dimensions. At home this is illustrated by public opinion polls whose results are catastrophic for the President. The simultaneous trips to Western Europe of three key representatives of the Administration, notably the Defence Secretary, the Secretary of State and the Attorney General, show that the crisis of confidence has spread overseas as well. Republican Senate leader Robert Dole has now advised the President to invite Western leaders to Washington to confer on that score. All these measures betray the desire to at least localize, if not stifle, the scandal, place the blame on third-rate figures and prevent more leakages. It is like trying to plug a hole in a dyke with one's finger. The scale of the illicit operations is too great, having, as far as one can judge, involved some dozen countries and scores of agents.

Meanwhile the latest developments have made further holes in White House defences.



Hawk and TOW anti-tank missiles, and anti-aircraft guns reveal the true face of Reagan's "diplomatic initiative" for Iran and Nicaragua.

From Der Spiegel (F.R.G.) and Time (U.S.)

Though Robert McFarlane testified in camera before the Senate Intelligence Committee, he startled everyone when he said that the President had personally approved arms deliveries to Iran via Israel. Until then Ronald Reagan and the Attorney General had claimed that the President learned of the deal only after the event and was not directly involved.

There were also surprises at hearings in the House Foreign Affairs Committee. George Shultz insisted that he had known nothing of the affair. However, the ground fell from under his feet when it transpired that he had personally asked the sultan of Brunei to donate several million dollars for the contras and secured his consent. Yet he had said that diversion of arms or resources to the contras was illegal. Although on the following day he withdrew this statement, saying, "I shouldn't jump to any conclusion," this constituted the first admission of the substance of the operation by an official person. He was also the first officially to name another individual involved in the arms deal, retired Air Force General Secord. In this connection, the New York Times reported that in early 1985, long before events were officially acknowledged, General Secord had been entertaining friends, when the party was interrupted by a telephone call from the President, according to a member of the general's family. The general apologized and said he had to go to the White House to meet with Reagan.

We learn that the Secretary of State's lack of knowledge was so great that he did not even know what staff members of his own department were doing. It has now transpired that the U.S. ambassador to Lebanon was directly involved in the Iranian operation, maintaining clandestine ties with the National Security Council. The U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica was also directly involved in arranging for arms deliveries to the contras. One could likewise name the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, without mentioning U.S. military advisers there.

This all greatly extends the range of officials involved. On the other hand, commenting in this connection on the case of the U.S. ambassador to Lebanon, an NBC correspondent emphasized that people who worked with him (the ambassador) for years had said that there was only one admissible reason for his involvement in an extremely controversial clandestine operation conducted without the knowledge of the Secretary of State—to wit, an explicit order from the President.

William Casey, who replied to most questions with a simple "I don't know," caused Senators to laugh aloud. However, the White House is sticking to the same formula. After the hearings, deputy press secretary Larry Speakes said that the CIA director had not known about the Iranian operation. However, it was Casey who had signed the document sanctioning arms deliveries to Iran in November 1985, prior to the President approving the entire operation. It was the CIA that opened an account in a Swiss bank to finance arms deliveries to the contras. Moreover, these resources had reportedly begun to be allocated back in 1985. The CIA also contracted for arms deliveries to the contras with such specially established companies as American Management and Lake Resources. The consensus of opinion is that it was the CIA that proposed keeping the operation secret from Congress, and the President endorsed that suggestion.

Ever More Tangled Skein

In turn, all these government offices—the CIA, the State Department, the Pentagon and the Joint Chiefs of Staff—were represented on the 208 Committee, an interdepartmental group that the present Administration set up specially to plan secret operations in Central America, Africa, the Middle East and Asia. A CBS correspondent tells us that as early as June 1983 the Pentagon and the CIA agreed to stockpile weapons if Congress decided to stop aid to the contras—which, in the event, happened. The President approved a plan exotically named Elephant Head. Curiously enough, the cost of these weapons, amounting to $32 million, corresponds to the sum which, it is believed, was diverted from the "Iranian money."

It is something of a surprise to learn that the operation also had a domestic aspect. The New York Times reports Lieutenant Colonel North as having had a hand in electioneering against Congressmen opposed to giving aid to the contras. Evidently a part of the profits grossed from the Iranian deals was diverted to the right-wing political action groups that organized the campaign. It is clear that these new reports add a further, completely new dimension to "Irangate."

In the last few days there have been increasingly vociferous demands for the dismissal of William Casey and Donald Regan, White House chief of staff and "number two." The aim is the same as when the services of Poindexter and North were dispensed with, namely, to put paid to the scandal. However, there is nothing to guarantee that this plan will do so; on the contrary, it could lead to more exposures, this time in the highest echelons of power. Small wonder that in its latest issue Newsweek was unable to refrain from making a generalization that has been suggesting itself for some time: "And the worst of it was that the accumulating evidence pointed increasingly to Reagan himself as the mainspring of the whole misguided scheme."

Such is the infinitely tangled skein, behind which lies a policy based on unprecedented cynicism, falsehood and frankly dishonest methods that have nothing to do with either national legislation or international law. Attempts to play down "Irangate" seek in particular to sustain this policy and serve as a face-saving ploy for the Administration responsible for it. It should be noted that it is at just this moment that decisions have been taken, which manifestly emphasize adherence to a policy based on armed force. The commissioning of another bomber with nuclear missiles has breached the SALT-2 treaty. One more nuclear test, the 24th since the Soviet moratorium was introduced, has been carried out. U.S. helicopters and crews have participated in moving materiel and personnel to the Honduras-Nicaragua border. There will be no changes, goes the gist of Washington's message, and even if the methods are condemned the policy as such will remain intact.

In the meantime, unusual things are happening. One sidelight: NBC has cancelled a programme planned for February to celebrate the President's 76th birthday. It seems that NBC does not want viewers to associate it with Ronald Reagan.

Y. GUDKOV

Secure Shield

The Commander of the Strategic Missile Forces and Deputy Defence Minister of the U.S.S.R., General of the Army YURI MAXIMOV, replies to questions concerning some aspects of Soviet military doctrine.

The morning the commander of the missile forces received our correspondent began as usual with a situation report by the officer in command of the combat duty team. General Maximov's reply was brief: "Report accepted. Carry on."

That day the general had returned from an inspection of troops during which he checked their combat readiness and training. His schedule for the day included three conferences with senior officers of the missile command to analyze the results of his inspection. The day-to-day duties of all soldiers, sergeants, officers and generals are subordinate to one aim: to keep the huge striking power of nuclear arms in a state of high combat readiness, ensuring accurate blows at targets of a potential enemy in any situation. The men of the rocket forces are on round-the-clock combat alert and for this reason alone resemble the frontier guards who protect our borders. It is only that in the missile forces the strain and responsibility are still greater.

A strategic missile is a sophisticated flying vehicle both with regard to design and functioning in flight. Its range in practical terms is unlimited and its combat use does not depend on weather conditions or the time of day or season of the year. The more sophisticated the strategic system, the higher the combat training of the crews and the more reliable their performance of their task.

Every strategic missile has a "brain"—an instrument controlling its movement in the three planes of its flight trajectory: up and down—pitch, right and left—yaw, and roll. To ensure the missile's accurate flight, the crew perform scheduled maintenance, constantly checking the reliability of its various units and systems, and the systems and devices of the launch complex. In this respect their work resembles that of ground crews at airfields without which not a single combat plane could take off. The daily routine of the missile forces includes excellent maintenance of the ground equipment which ensures high homing accuracy, and exemplary execution of practice launchings which put all systems, services and crews to the test.

The Headquarters of the Strategic Missile Forces can be called the "heart" of these troops. So my first question to the commander was:

What worries you?

I am worried by the persistent desire of the United States to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and secure the possibility of delivering a first nuclear strike at our country with impunity.

In these conditions the preservation of strategic nuclear parity acquires special importance. And we missilemen regard this as one of our paramount tasks. It is our duty to prevent the other side from acquiring superiority over us in technology, combat readiness and the training of personnel. We are working on this.

What are the guarantees of strategic systems' reliability?

First of all, their high combat preparedness and ability to perform their tasks in any conditions, that is, to repel the aggressor, no matter what kind of strategic armaments he uses, space ones included.

Our country stands for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction and for reducing military potential to reasonable limits. But the character and level of this ceiling continue to be restricted by the attitudes and actions of the United States and its partners in NATO. As was said at the 27th CPSU Congress, under these conditions "the Soviet Union lays no claim to greater security than that enjoyed by others but it will not settle for less."

What is the role of serviceman in handling modern automated control systems?

The more sophisticated the arms, the greater the automation of control processes and the more significant the role of the human factor. And here the question is not only one of raising the level of knowledge and skills of military experts.

Automated systems have greatly accelerated the process of controlling weapons, and have at the same time made them collective weapons in the highest degree, when the successful fulfilment of the combat task depends on the sense of responsibility of every serviceman. So everything depends first of all on people, on crews.

Everything has been switched to electronics. So what are the functions of the Commander?

Missiles are controlled by men. Electronic devices are part of the technical means employed by the troops. This equipment can quickly collect, analyze and generalize information in any given situation and make correct decisions.

But electronics cannot take into account the full diversity of problems to be solved, especially in what concerns the training and education of the men, their mastering of new and complex types of equipment, and using and servicing it, and, most important, electronics cannot adopt a correct and responsible decision depending on the situation. So the use of electronics does not minimize the role of the men or that of the Commander.

The Strategic Missile Forces are entering the 27th year of their existence. Will you please comment on their development.

The creation of the Strategic Missile Forces was a forced necessity and served one purpose—to prevent a third world war.

In the past 26 years the rocket forces have passed the initial stage of their development and become a secure shield for our Motherland. They are armed with highly accurate intercontinental missiles, medium-range missiles, fail-safe launching pads, and a reliable automated system of control and communication. The standard of training of personnel has risen greatly over these years.

What is your perception of strategic balance? Is it sufficient at present for our country's reliable security?

As we see it, the strategic balance means a rough parity of strategic arms, both in terms of numbers and combat might, between the U.S.S.R. and the United States necessary for maintaining mutual security.

An equal reduction of Soviet and American strategic arms will not upset the balance, and we stand for this, on

condition, of course, that the American side does not press for advantages and military superiority for itself.

What are the chief requirements put to modern ICBMs?

High reliability and invulnerability at all stages of preparation, launch and flight as prerequisites for the performance by the missile forces of their combat task. At present our ICBMs have an adequate standard of reliability and all-round invulnerability. And this is our constant concern, with due account taken of changes in the potential of the probable enemy.

How is the invulnerability of our ICBMs maintained?

By a set of organizational and technical measures intended to ensure their high combat readiness and their protection on earth and in flight.

Will not the vulnerability of our ICBMs increase with the development of the American "star wars" programme?

Yes, it will increase if we do not take countermeasures. Although intended as an anti-missile defence system, SDI can also comprise strike space weapons targeted on our strategic installations, including ICBMs, and capable of destroying them within minutes. In effect, this will be a new component of U.S. strategic offensive forward-based arms deployed in outer space over the Soviet Union's territory.

Our reply to the "star wars" programme can be incomparably simpler and cheaper. At his press conference in Reykjavik, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "There will be an answer to SDI. An asymmetrical one, but there will be one. Moreover, we will not have to sacrifice much."

There exist effective ways of preserving the invulnerability of our ICBMs in the event of the implementation of SDI as well.

In the opinion of Soviet scientists, for instance, an effective countermeasure is offered by such a tactic as launching ICBMs intended to "exhaust" the space-based ABM defence, through its early alerting by means of a specially devised return strike routine. These can be combined launches of ICBMs and dummy missiles, launches of ICBMs with a wide range of trajectories, etc. All this leads to the squandering of energy resources of orbital ABM echelons, to the discharging of x-ray lasers and electromagnetic guns, and other premature losses in the firepower of the ABM system.

In addition to this, an increase in the number of ICBMs will create several additional difficulties for the enemy's detection systems and cause a drastic decline in the efficiency of the interception and targeting systems. A similar result will also be achieved by using more warheads per missile.

What reliability do nuclear warheads have without nuclear tests?

Our 30-year record of developing and testing nuclear warheads corroborates their high reliability.

There is no denying that our unilateral moratorium makes perfecting armaments rather difficult but we have to accept this for the sake of the common goal—ending the arms race and preserving peace on Earth.

The United States needs nuclear tests to create fundamentally new, more destructive munitions as well as nuclear-pumped laser weapons. And this poses a new danger to peace.

> **"Soviet military doctrine is entirely in keeping with the letter and spirit of the initiatives we have put forward. Its orientation is unequivocally defensive."**
>
> **From the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress**

Will not the survivability of our early warning system decline if the United States starts deploying its ASAT system?

The ASAT system is intended to intercept artificial earth satellites on high orbits and does not extend to our early warning spacecraft. Besides, we have other warning systems.

What do you mean by sufficiency of strategic forces?

The sufficiency of strategic forces stems from a state's military doctrine. For our country it is determined by the equal security of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.

The main objectives of the strategy of "direct confrontation" between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., announced by the head of the Pentagon in June 1981, are as follows: to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union, and ensure the readiness of the United States to wage war to force the U.S.S.R. into immediately stopping military operations on U.S. terms.

It is also noted that, by opening "new fields of military rivalry," the United States can change the alignment of forces in its favour.

Is a crippling nuclear strike possible in present conditions of strategic parity?

The United States wants to achieve this by deploying MX ICBMs, stationing Pershing-2 medium-range missiles in Western Europe, equipping submarines with Trident-2 ballistic missiles and also by developing SDI components with their subsequent deployment in outer space. But in existing conditions of strategic parity a crippling strike is impossible. All attempts to achieve unilateral advantages can always, and will be parried by the opposite side, and not necessarily by simply building up weapon systems. The level of economic development attained by the U.S.S.R. allows for this.

Do you subscribe to the concept of offensive and defensive nuclear forces?

I subscribe to the concept, if it can

Soviet missile forces stand on guard of the country and peace. TASS photo

be so called, of ensuring our country's security regardless of the development of the military-political situation in the world. Soviet military doctrine is of a purely defensive nature and is designed to protect the country from attack, from aggression.

As for the American concept of offensive and defensive nuclear forces, this classification, to my mind, is purely conventional and serves to justify the arms race and the pursuit of military superiority.

When questions of limiting and reducing nuclear stockpiles are being tackled the division of these arms into offensive and defensive ones does not fit in with the concept of equal security.

What, in your opinion, makes SDI illusory?

The fallacity of SDI is that it is impossible to create a failproof system of repulsing a return strike by our strategic forces. On the other hand, we have no doubts as to SDI's offensive capabilities.

Have you seen a nuclear explosion? What was your impression? What do you think about the future of mankind in the nuclear-space age?

As a World War II veteran, I saw conventional explosions on battlefields, in the towns and villages of our country, and this is sufficient for me to imagine all the horrors and losses brought by nuclear war. The aftermaths of the atomic bombings of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the Americans without any necessity whatsoever make every decent person shudder even now, more than forty years later.

If unleashed, nuclear war will affect everyone, no matter where it begins. And today, as never before, we link mankind's future with the struggle for peace.

Tension between the nuclear powers is growing and the arms race is not slowing down. Is there a way out of this situation?

There is only one way out—to sit down at the negotiating table and at the same time not to press for unilateral superiority. This is a logical and understandable path along which to advance to the solution of the crucial problems on which the very survival of mankind depends. The package of Soviet proposals submitted in Reykjavik makes this a realistic proposition.

What, in your view, is the role of the troops under your command in averting nuclear war?

The Strategic Missile Forces are called the nuclear-missile shield of our Motherland. Their might, their high degree of readiness to repulse at any moment an aggressor's attack are an important factor in restraining the militaristic ambitions of imperialism and averting nuclear war.

Interviewer V. OSTROVSKY
(Novosti Press Agency)

EXCLUSIVE FOR NEW TIMES

The World Commission on Environment and Development held a meeting in Moscow, and Prime Minister GRO HARLEM BRUNDTLAND of Norway, who is the chairwoman of the commission, kindly agreed to contribute an article to our journal.

We Are All Neighbours

We live in a global neighbourhood in which the earth is united, but the world of mankind is not. The human family has been slow to recognize its global interdependence, slow to learn that we are all simply neighbours.

The population of the world is rapidly growing and the economic potentials of states are expanding even faster. New industries emerge and agriculture is changing. All these changes overlap and cause global ecological alterations. The deterioration of the environment is eroding the potential for development and endangering essential life-support systems on a global scale. Hence the need for joint action, but time is running out.

The new age of economic growth demands from governments closer attention to ecological problems. Most governments now pay systematic attention to the effects of air and water pollution in urban areas and around large industrial complexes—the effects on human health, and on property and ecosystems. Over the past few years a variety of legal, institutional and technical means have been used to control and reduce and even prevent these effects—the symptoms of resource waste and faulty development policies.

In many countries industry is developing a wide range of low- and non-waste technologies that reduce substantially the use of mineral resources, particularly petroleum, per unit of output. As a result, new industries can be both more environmentally efficient and more economically competitive. The industrial enterprises of the future will be those who today recognize that pollution prevention pays.

But only a few countries have so far succeeded in controlling pollution. Not even the rich industrialized countries have managed to deal with the backlog. Most of the world, including the developing countries, have suffered a steady and rapid deterioration of their environment—the resource base for their future development.

In October 1985, scientists from 29 countries met in Villach, Austria, to review the latest evidence about carbon dioxide in the atmosphere. They concluded that global climatic change must be considered a "plausible and serious possibility" during the lifetime of our children. The results of global warming, they warned, could be catastrophic in many regions.

Lately, scientists have confirmed earlier evidence of a large hole in the Earth's protective ozone layer. Discovery of this hole over Antarctica—and indications of similar holes over Europe—have sent shivers through the scientific community. Depletion of the ozone layer, allowing more ultra-violet radiation to reach the Earth, could increase the incidence of cancer and reduce the effectiveness of our immune system. It could have adverse effects on crops, plants, on the living resources of the sea—and even on the plankton, which provides the essential base for the sea's food web and its life-support system.

BACKGROUND NOTE

The World Commission on Environment and Development was established in 1983 under a resolution of the U.N. General Assembly. Next year the commission is to submit a report on environmental prospects up to the year 2000 and after. The tasks of the commission include the examination of the problems of environmental protection and development, the formulation of concrete proposals on their solution, the evaluation of the existing forms of international cooperation and the development of new ones.

The commission includes leading politicians and experts on the environment and development.

The commission has its headquarters in Geneva but holds its meetings and public hearings in different parts of the world to provide for the fullest possible participation of people from every region in its work. Public hearings have already been held in Jakarta, Oslo, São Paulo and Ottawa.

Ecosystems know no human boundaries, whether political or administrative. All that impinges on them must be a matter for common concern.

Harmful industrial activities are mainly concentrated in the more prosperous countries. But all countries, rich and poor, share the risks. And many of those who share in these risks have little influence on the decision processes regulating such activities. The "lesson from Basel," the fire at the Sandoz chemical plant, demonstrated how we share the risks and how environmental programmes in one country can be disrupted when an accident occurs in another country.

The starting point for a new international commitment must be the recognition that national decisions have international consequences—and therefore require a measure of international responsibility. The global problems need global answers.

To illustrate this approach we can look at certain aspects of energy use. Nuclear energy is one of the potential sources for the production of electricity for the future. An expert panel advising the World Commission noted that nuclear energy is part of the quest for clean power.

But the Chernobyl accident strengthened the view of our panel that no nation should make decisions about energy matters without careful consideration of nuclear safety issues. A country may decide that lower safety levels may be tolerated in a nuclear reactor. But if an accident occurs, the radioactive fallout does not respect national boundaries.

The framework for environmental policy needs to be broadened in two directions.

First, environmental sustainability must become an integral part of development in all countries. The "react-and-cure" attitude to environmental problems must give way to "anticipate-and-prevent." We must attack the problems at their source rather than react to the symptoms.

Second, we are forced to recognize the accelerating ecological interdependence among nations. On many fronts, we are approaching natural thresholds which we cannot cross without threatening essential life-support systems. International cooperation is absolutely essential.

We are gratified to learn that several of our ideas on the World Commission are already shared by the Soviet Union. General Secretary Gorbachev, in his speech to the 27th Party Congress, spoke of the need for rational use of the world's resources as assets belonging to all humanity. He noted that it is becoming increasingly apparent that we must develop effective international procedures to achieve this aim, and has called for cooperation on a worldwide scale for close and constructive joint action.

The Soviet Union is giving increasing attention to environmental issues such as long-range air pollution, marine pollution, low-waste technologies and soil erosion. European socialist countries have a deeply-entrenched concern for nature.

Everyone is aware of the threats to the Earth's environment from the risk of nuclear war, the arms buildup and its possible spread to outer space. We have therefore been encouraged by the perspectives for radical reductions of present levels of nuclear weapons discussed in Reykjavik by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the President of the United States of America.

We all accept international responsibility for preventing war. We must broaden that global sense of responsibility to include the environment.

The acceptance of a joint responsibility for the environment will give us a fresh start in the search for peace and coexistence. In this sense the work of the World Commission is a step towards this great but elusive goal.

■

PRIME MINISTER OF NORWAY GRO HARLEM BRUNDTLAND

Her father, physician Gudmund Harlem, was Defence Minister and Minister of Social Affairs in Norwegian cabinets. Gro, also a physician by training, joined the Labour [social democratic] Party and was eventually appointed Minister of the Environment, her first government post.

She became Norwegian Prime Minister in 1981, and in 1986 again assumed that post.

The first woman to lead a Scandinavian government and the second a European government, she has included 7 women in her cabinet. "We are eight, or roughly 45 per cent of the Norwegian government," she says with understandable satisfaction. "I think that, if you wish, you can call it a political record."

Though pursuing a professional and political career, Gro is raising four children. Work is not her only preoccupation. Like most Norwegians, she likes the mountains and the sea and goes in for skiing and sailing.

A story about her first workday as visiting physician is typical of Gro. When she returned to the hospital, the manager asked her how many patients she had visited and how much money she had brought in.

"But I did not charge anything: I thought health care was free," Gro said.

FULL TEXT

DIFFICULT, BUT FEASIBLE

I take your invitation to participate in your "Journey into the 21st Century" debate (No. 28 for this year) as an appeal to all who cherish peace and seek to contribute, albeit modestly, to détente.

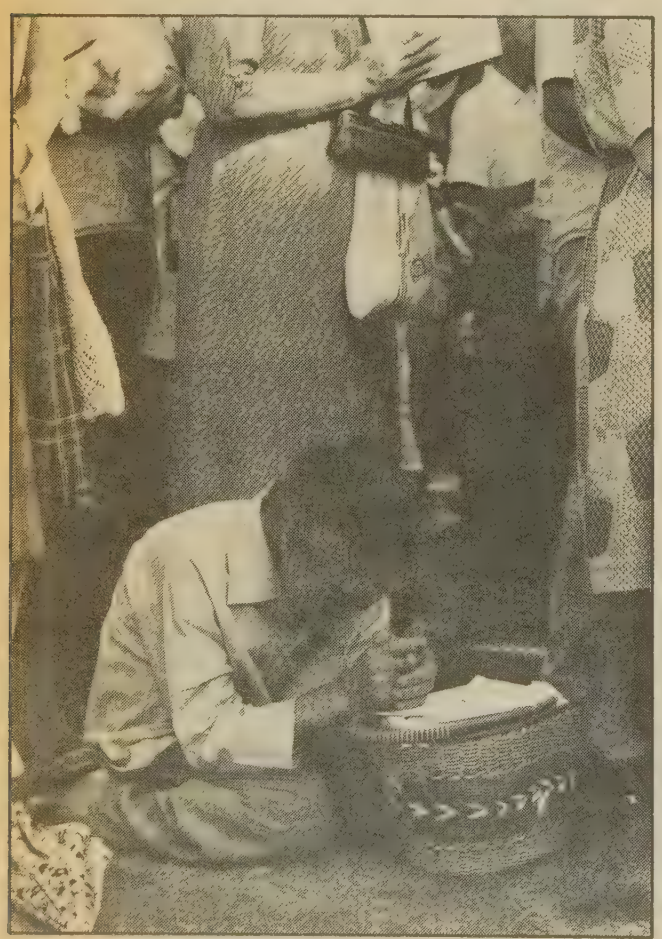
The 21st century without the Damoclean sword of a nuclear apocalypsis! What prospects and opportunities would then open up! Thanks to the pooled efforts of scientists in the different socio-economic systems, the atomic energy that introduced death-dealing weapons in the 20th century would be transformed into a constructive force wholly dedicated to humanity. Today's secrets would no longer be behind lock and key, as it would be mandatory to inform partners of achievements. We would definitely resolve such problems as reactor safety, while the issue of dumping nuclear waste would be settled through joint efforts. Through mastery of nuclear fusion the energy problem would be solved worldwide. Confidence and trust in the realm of nuclear energy would ensure still better international relations. Europe will be the first continent capable of implementing this marvellous plan in practice.

However, for all these good intentions to be anything more than pipe dreams in the 21st century, it is vital to demonstrate good will for peace and cooperation today.

Wolfgang TIETZE
Zittau, G.D.R.

A READER'S CONTRIBUTION

Praying for Peace—the caption our Japanese reader Ittetsu Morishita has appended to this photograph.



OPINIONS

ABOUT THE PRIME ISSUE

I consider it more than doubtful that you will ever succeed in your noble effort to deliver humanity from the impending nuclear menace. The question is not whether U.S. history ends with the incumbent president—he personifies cynicism and lack of personal dignity and is no more than a puppet in the hands of the world's richest and cruellest exploiters. Nor is it a question of replacing one president with another. The point is that nothing in the world today can change the way of thinking of the Washington elite. That is why I so much fear that the U.S.S.R.'s efforts and good will may prove vain.

Salvador Isern BADENAS
Barcelona, Spain

That SDI, though not yet here, has already lost its illusory invulnerability, is beyond question. So what is the matter? Why does the illusory attribute of as yet unattained superiority loom so prominently in the U.S.A.'s principal political doctrines? I think one reason is the quite unconcealed craving of the tycoons of the military-industrial complex to shake the pillars of the Soviet national economy and economically bleed us white. A hopeless objective! SDI, the stumbling block at Reykjavik, has already discredited itself in the eyes of all who want a peaceful world. I regard that as a crucial result of the historic summit between the leaders of the two great powers.

B. BOLSHAKOV
Moscow Region, U.S.S.R.

All who thought that the Washington leadership would take advantage of the opportunity that Reykjavik offered to demonstrate their will for peace in practice were deeply disappointed. The more so as all the demands the White House put forward were fully met. Mikhail Gorbachev advanced proposals of unprecedented scope. To appreciate them fully one need only listen to what the Americans themselves had to say on the score. John Poindexter, the President's former national security adviser, said these were astounding proposals which had far exceeded expectations. Reagan's "No" thus betrays the deep-seated discord that prevails in the White House. One feels obliged to ask if the U.S. government really wants peace. I think that at the moment there can be only a negative reply.

Prof. Antonio PAGNOZZI
Naples, Italy

Mr Gorbachev believed the talks would end in a positive way. I admire his courage. I also believe that Reagan is aware of the Soviet Union's true intentions. Personally I like America as much as I like the Soviet Union. The arms race will only result in ruining both the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. I don't want to see that.

Isao ASHIBA
Tokyo, Japan

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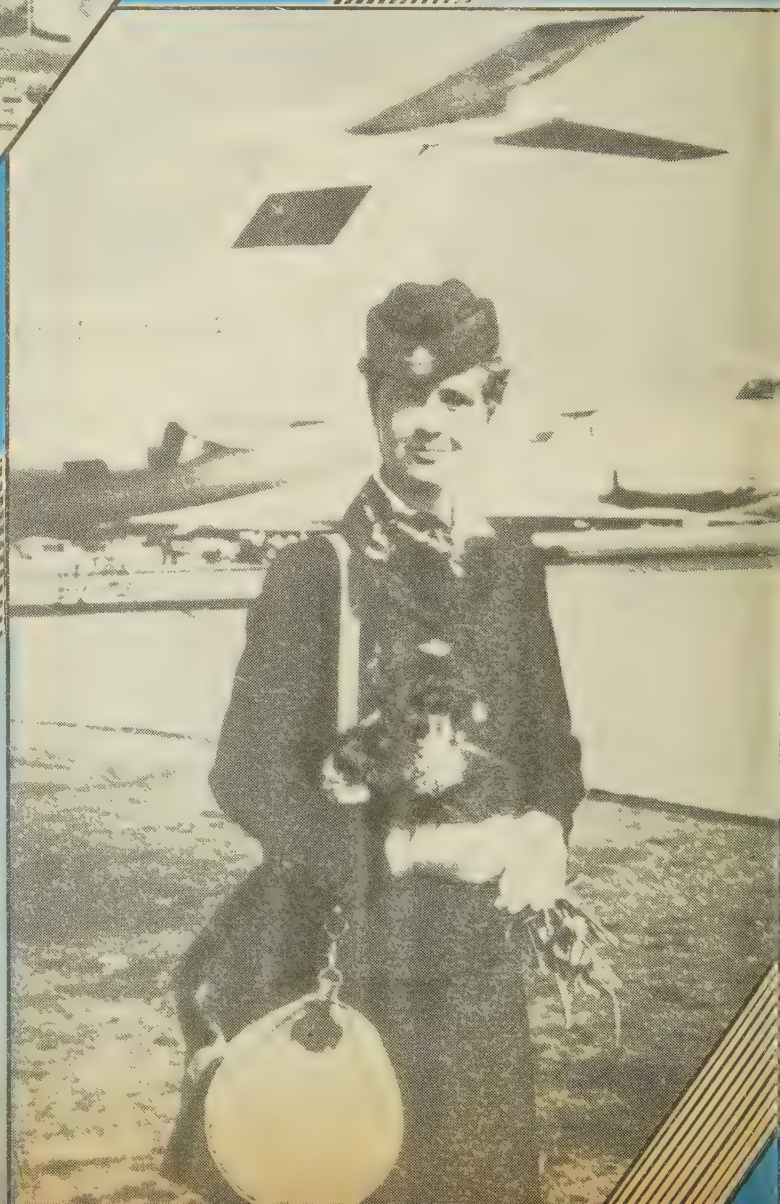

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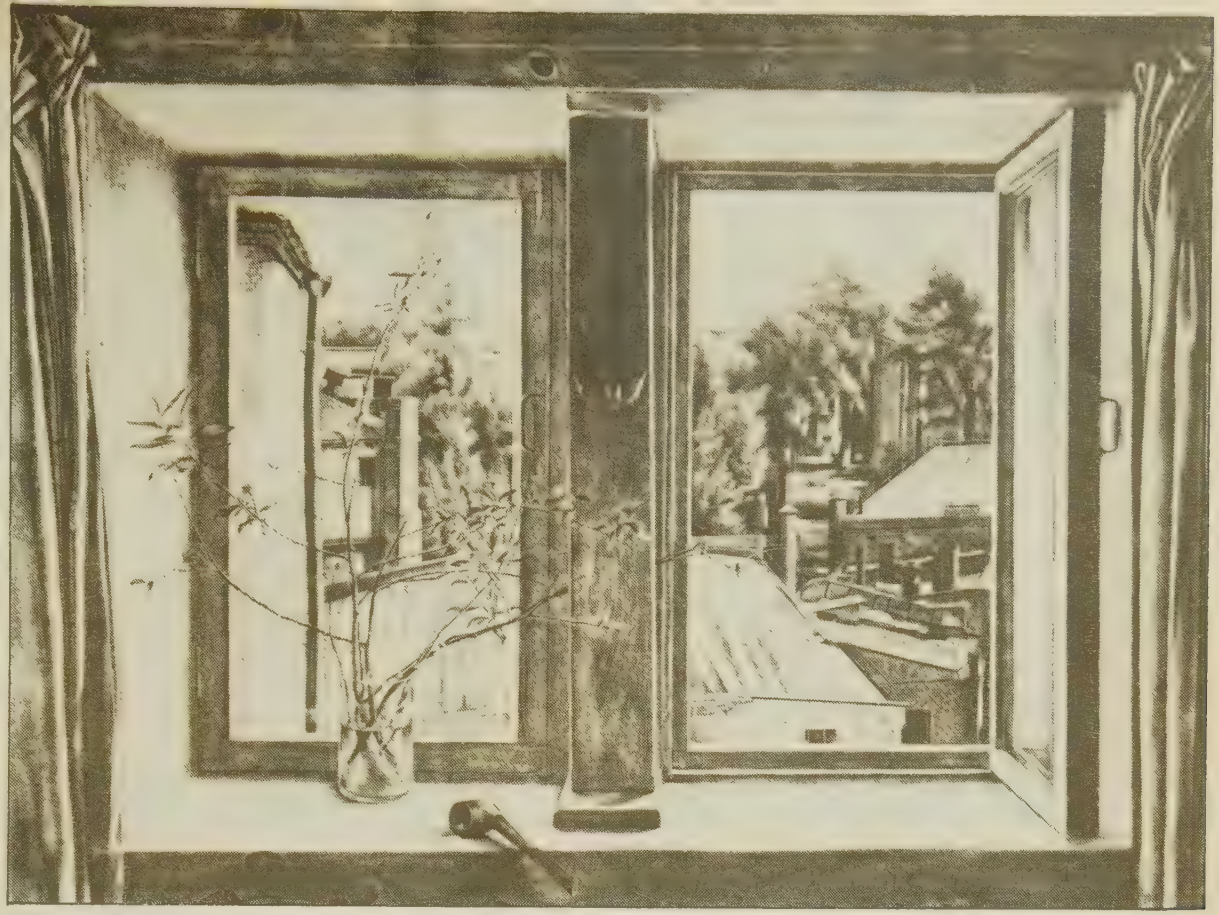


- Self-Portrait.
- Still life with quince.
- Still life with fish.
- Portrait of a woman.
- View from window.
- Portrait of People's Artist of the U.S.S.R. Armen Dzhigarkhanyan.

fine lines. In Khachatryan's world the light pervading space fuses the material with the spiritual, breathes life into lifeless matter, imparts a poetic quality to Nature.

But is not such a vision of the world archaic in our time of dramatic tension, a time of bitter social conflict, of ecological crises, a time when the very existence of humanity is threatened? Can Khachatryan's style be considered modern against the emotional and aesthetic background of the art of Picasso and Dali? I would say that it is not only modern but timely. Khachatryan speaks of the need in our grim age to preserve faith in Man, in the power of his spirit, in the possibility of the triumph of harmony over discord, beauty over ugliness, and to seek union with Nature instead of its destruction. Without such faith man cannot live today, cannot fight for the salvation of mankind, for a better future.

M. KAGAN

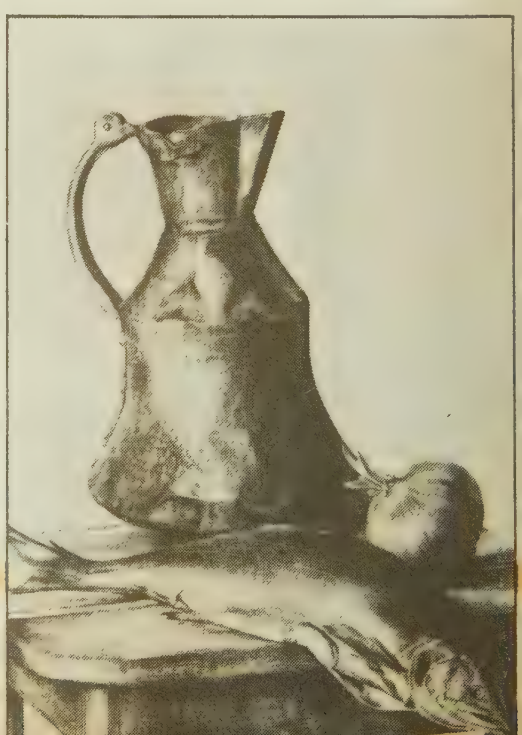
Khachatryan's work is well known among art connoisseurs both here and abroad. In 1986 exhibitions of his drawings were seen by thousands of people in Moscow, Yerevan and Detroit (U.S.A.). In our tense and dramatic time this artist's work, permeated with faith in man, touches a responsive chord in the viewer.

He grew up in Armenia and his work is linked by many ties with traditional Armenian art. But respect for these traditions has not left him insensitive to multinational Soviet and world culture. The influence of Italian, German, Dutch and Russian art is discernible in his drawings, particularly in the series of self-portraits, one of which is reproduced here. He subjects himself to a searching, uncompromising scrutiny, and it is thus that he looks at other people and the world at large, combining in a single organic whole an aesthetic and moral perception of life.

The first thing that strikes one about Khachatryan's work is his unusual technique: sepia on gesso—a snow-white ground on which human figures objects or landscapes, executed with filigree precision, are superimposed, shaded to give the effect of almost tactile contrasts of light and shade that bring out the texture of the human body, fabrics, plants. Incidentally, the icon-painters used the gesso ground, though they covered it with a layer of colour. In Khachatryan's work it remains a pure, gleaming white. This produces an extraordinary impression of space illumined by an inner light, and as you look at it the single-tone depiction seems to be suffused with colour—now cold, now warm, now a brownish green, now a silvery blue. The drawings are unusual in size as well—they have a spatial quality more customary in painting than in drawing.

What is the basic feature of Khachatryan's work? In his portraits he seeks to convey the character the spiritual and intellectual powers, in a word, the personality of his subject. The artist's world is peopled with strong, thinking, energetic men with a rich inner life, and elegant, gentle, gracious women.

His portraits are reminiscent of the art of the Renaissance. He meticul-



INNER LI

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АЭРОФЛОТ
Soviet airlines

Bridge or Gulf?

Can a bridge of cooperation and mutual understanding be built between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.? Much in the world today depends on the answer to that question. So far it has not been answered. Yet there is less and less time for procrastination. The world is groaning in the grip of confrontation. And this cannot go on indefinitely.

The following is a compilation of interviews taken at various times in the past several months. Of course, the subject of Soviet-American relations has many angles. We, therefore, dwell only on some of them, above all, their bearing on the multifaceted end-of-century world.

In each case the same questions were put, and the general picture that emerged was that it is not easy to build a bridge when even among the Americans themselves there are so many different and often mutually exclusive ideas about what should be done first of all, what should not be done, what is important and what is irrelevant, what is hindering and what is promoting progress. Sometimes there was an obvious lack of the basic elements of mutual understanding, of any sign of the new thinking that would make it possible to go over from talk about "maintaining nuclear peace" to joint blueprints for a nuclear-free, secure epoch.

In the meantime much has been happening in the world. There were the hopes and disappointments of Reykjavik. There were and still are the Soviet proposals advanced there for stage-by-stage elimination of strategic nuclear weapons. There was and still is the American clinging to SDI, to which has been added the recent U.S. refusal to observe the existing strategic arms limitation agreements. There was and still is anti-Sovietism fostered by the U.S. military-industrial complex and ultra-right politicians.

The fact remains, however, that, according to opinion polls, 96 per cent of Americans believe that to seek a collision with the U.S.S.R. in the nuclear age is far too risky. The Soviet people stand 100 per cent for normal, stable, businesslike and ultimately friendly relations with the United States.

Can that bridge be built? That question is still open.

Taking part in this New Times symposium are JACK MATLOCK, a special assistant to the U.S. President, VLADIMIR LOMEIKO, U.S.S.R. special envoy, and STROBE TALBOTT, chief of the Washington bureau of Time magazine. The interviewers were New Times staff writers Galina Sidorova and Andrei Arkhipov.

New Times: Is the modern world bipolar or multipolar? What is the place of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. in this world and what is the responsibility they bear for the solution of the main problem, the problem of war and peace?

Matlock: Whether the world is bipolar or multipolar depends upon what one is talking about. It's bipolar only in the sense that the United States and the Soviet Union have the greatest nuclear arsenals. So, on security questions, particularly involving nuclear questions, there is a large degree of bipolarity. In every other area, however, we live in a multipolar world, or a world where power is much more diffused.

Talbott: My own feeling and that, I think, of a lot of Americans of different political persuasions, is that the Soviet-American relationship is still central and paramount. It really has to do with two factors. First of all, this is the most dangerous adversary relationship in the world today, and, second, these two countries are the custodians, the caretakers of the arsenals of mass destruction weapons which represent a threat to the survival of the whole planet.

At the same time, the world has grown much more varied and complicated since the end of World War II. Through the process of decolonization there have grown up many more countries than there used to be. Since the Soviet Union achieved a status of a rough overall strategic nuclear equivalence with the United States Soviet foreign policy has taken a more active role, farther from the borders of the Soviet Union. This has brought the Soviet Union into conflict with the self-pursued interests of the United States and has created another arena of competition, namely, the rivalry for influence in the Third World.

"It's good that you have come. It means something is changing for the better." Such was the welcome residents of La Crosse, Wisconsin, gave last summer to Soviet participants in the Mississippi Peace Cruise.

Lomeiko: We live in a multipolar world characterized by an interweaving of complex contradictions, conflict and cooperation. These poles differ as regards the power and nature of their influence, their force of attraction and of repulsion. Above all, there are the two world systems—the capitalist and the socialist. And within these systems are the United States and the Soviet Union, which possess the biggest nuclear arsenals, three imperialist centres—the U.S., Western Europe and Japan, the non-aligned movement and socialist China. We do not look at the world through the prism of Soviet-American relations, although we recognize the particular responsibility of both powers for the maintenance of international security. It is precisely awareness of its special responsibility for the world's future that prompted the Soviet Union to advance its proposals for stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons, and for a substantial reduction of conventional weapons, given, of course, strict observance of the principle of equal security for all countries and peoples.

Some U.S. political scientists prefer to look at the world through geopolitical spectacles. In my opinion, a new thinking, dictated by the realities of the nuclear age, would be more productive. And these realities call for an intensive search for an answer to the main question of our time: how to live so as to survive together and not to be at loggerheads with one another.

New Times: In the United States the opinion is often voiced that the ups and downs in Soviet-American relations are quite normal and all but positive phenomena.

Matlock: I think we have to expect

a large amount of competition between us, given our differences. I think we do not have to have crises recurrently as we had in the past. Therefore, I think that we will always see problems there, but there are ways in which we could move to bring a greater element of co-operation into the relationship.

Talbott: It seems to me that the relationship is grounded on two immutable facts. One is the irreconcilable differences between the social systems and value systems of the two countries and between the foreign policy interests. And the other fundamental fact is the impossibility of war as a means of resolving and reconciling these differences. These two underlying facts are almost like electrical poles, plus and minus, and the relationship kind of quivers between the two, and it's the quivering that helps to explain the changes in mood and expectation. Also, I might say that the Americans are basically an optimistic people, but they are also easily disappointed and disillusioned. They hope for the best in Soviet-American relations and when something goes wrong, whether it's a trend or an individual disagreeable incident, they tend to react in the other direction.

New Times: But surely it is not a matter of pessimism or optimism. Let us look at these ups and downs from another angle. Take the past six years. Under the present U.S. Administration Soviet-American relations have dropped to what is practically an all-time low. Washington ignores Moscow's readiness for negotiation and compromises. This was once again confirmed by Reykjavik and what has happened since: no sooner had the contours of comprehensive agreements emerged than the American leadership refused to abide by SALT-2 limitations and is seeking to undermine the ABM treaty. The impression is that right-wing forces are bent on giving effect to an unprecedented buildup of U.S. armed might at all costs. It looks as if the U.S. side is responsible for the ups and downs.

Lomeiko: As I see it, these ups and downs are due to the course of the political struggle on this question in the U.S. itself. Whereas in the Soviet Union the prevalent line is in favour of promoting normal, mutually advantageous relations with the United States, in the U.S. there exist two major bodies of opinion—one standing for bilateral relations based on equal security, and the other, confident of its strength and ability to act with impunity, standing for superiority. For a variety of reasons now the one now the other plays the dominant role. Naturally, this cannot but put the rest of the world out of kilter.

New Times: In what spheres is it realistic to speak of cooperation between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union?

A similar welcome was accorded them in Davenport, Iowa.

Matlock: Well, potentially there are a number of areas, such as environmental protection, medical research, some economic areas. Obviously, these fields depend, to some extent, on the general state of relations, and when there is great tension overall it makes it difficult to cooperate even in those areas where we clearly have a common interest.

Talbott: I think arms control is the only area where we can have regular, sustained, institutionalized cooperation. It's ironic that two adversary nations should not be able to agree about anything except the composition of the weapons that they would use against each other if they were ever to go to war. A paradox? Of course, precisely because war is not really an option for the political leaders of the two countries, no matter how hostile their relationships become. Therefore, they do have a mutual interest in preventing war, and one way at least to diminish the chances of it is to try to cooperate in managing the competition in the acquisition and deployment of weapons in such a way as to discourage the development of weapons that by their very nature might lead to war. When I say that arms control is the only area of American-Soviet relations, I mean that it is the only area where you can have cooperation. Obviously, there is room for cultural exchange, people-to-people exchanges, but that is not the main thing.

Lomeiko: The question of cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. is a matter of how one views the course civilization should take. Proceeding from the premise that we are all interested in preserving peace and life on Earth, then that course should not be predicated on confrontation but on a philosophical-political concept of cooperation. In that case a broad, multiform programme is realistic—a programme ranging from ophthalmological and cardiac surgery and treatment of cancer to joint use of outer space. We are for this. But if one side sees in the other side not just a competitor but a global rival, then the sphere of mutual interests will be bound to shrink.

In the interests of survival we must above all display a desire and a will for joint action in the sphere of nuclear and conventional arms.

New Times: The relations between our countries in the military-political sphere rightly occupy the central place since the promotion of contacts in other spheres—economic, cultural and humanitarian—depend in large measure on the state of these relations. But the latter, in their turn, can create the atmosphere, the climate for the former. Here everything is interconnected. We have not yet touched upon another important aspect, namely, regional cooperation. What prospects for such cooperation are there in the Pacific region, for instance?

Lomeiko: The Pacific region is a vast untapped field for international cooperation. The Pacific Ocean washes the shores of such giants as the U.S.S.R., the United States, China and Australia. The "Japanese miracle" basks in its beneficence. This region is experiencing an economic boom. If the spirit of cooperation among **all** of its countries predominates the **entire** region will benefit. It was this consideration that prompted the proposals made by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speeches in Vladivostok and in Delhi.

Matlock: I don't think a conference on the Pacific of the sort that the Helsinki conference was in Europe is needed at this time. Problems of the Pacific are rather different. And we

don't see them as necessarily of the same nature as those in Europe. Also I would say that we have been disappointed that the Helsinki Final Act has not been more completely implemented, and there would also be the consideration why duplicate Helsinki when Helsinki has fallen short of the expectations.

Talbott: I think one of the problems between the United States and the Soviet Union is the difference in the way in which each is a superpower. The United States is a superpower in large measure because of its economic strength, because of its vast commercial commitments and involvement in the economic lives of other countries. The Soviet Union is a superpower overwhelmingly and certainly primarily because of its military strength and the physical size of the country. That creates a certain asymmetry or tension between the two powers in the way they are going about or trying to exert their influence as superpowers. By definition it means that the United States is going to rely primarily on exertion of economic muscle and the Soviet Union on exertion of military muscle. I think this is very much true in the Pacific, where the United States has been in a period of retrenchment since the end of the war in Vietnam, although in the same period the Soviet Union has been considerably increasing its military presence in the area, including outside the borders of the U.S.S.R.

New Times: A strange assertion in the light of the increasing American presence, nuclear included, at many bases in the Pacific, in Japan and South Korea.

In this connection it might be in place to recall the Soviet initiatives envoy Lomeiko referred to. The U.S.S.R. proposes: resolving the problems relating to a regional settlement; raising an obstacle to the proliferation and build-up of nuclear weapons in Asia and the Pacific; starting talks on reducing naval activity in the Pacific, especially of ships equipped with nuclear weapons; securing a radical reduction within reasonal limits of armed forces and conventional armaments in Asia; carrying to a practical plane the discussion of confidence-building measures and of non-use of force in the region. Incidentally, no one is being urged to mechanically copy the Helsinki pattern. What is meant is the application of the positive experience of the all-European process to the specific conditions of this enormous region.

Let us turn to Europe. What role in your view could this continent play in safeguarding peace?

Matlock: Well, Europe is obviously a central point and the economic strength of Western Europe makes it a very important factor, and for the countries of Western Europe and internationally peace in Europe is, of course, essential.

Talbott: Europe emerged from World War II devastated, poor and demoralized. During the late 1940s, 1950s and even in the Kennedy Administration Europe was seen as the potential flashpoint, the geographical region of the world where, if the United States and the Soviet Union got into conflict, World War III would begin. Since Europe is a region with which the United States felt historically, politically, culturally and economically very closely bound, it felt itself terribly threatened by the expanded presence of Soviet armed forces after the end of World War II. And the creation of NATO, the creation of the Warsaw pact increased Soviet-American confrontation in Europe. In the early sixties we had a very severe crisis over Berlin. But all that seems to be in the past. I don't want to seem sanguine or overconfident, but it seems that the focus of Soviet-American tension has shifted in the last two decades from Europe to the Third World. So, I think that while there remain many problems to be solved and it would be irresponsible to say that there is no danger of war the situation in Europe is essentially stabilized.

Lomeiko: Europe's influence on world affairs is so great and so multiform that it can hardly be overestimated. It is compounded of history, culture and the spiritual potential deriving from all the knowledge accumulated over the centuries. It is a whole European civilization extending to the entire world.

Having experienced the losses and suffering of two world wars, Europe was able to appreciate more keenly than others the blessings of détente in the seventies and to keep its spirit alive in the eighties. The grim experience of war and the fruits of peace entitle Europe to be the trailblazer in a mixed continental undertaking—the building anew of détente. This, of course, is not facilitated by military blocs. But one would like to hope that gravitation to cooperation and common sense will prove stronger than confrontation.

Iowan farmer Merlyn Bradley met his first Soviet person ever, cosmonaut Georgi Grechko, during the cruise.

New Times: Is it correct to say that in the modern world the interdependence of states has grown markedly?

Matlock: Well, there are obviously interrelationships in the world. Whether these are so close that you have some sort of domino effect I'm not at all sure. Clearly, things can happen in one region which do not affect, in a critical sense, other regions.

New Times: And if you look at interdependence from the standpoint of security?

Lomeiko: In my opinion, in an age of nuclear overkill, when the planet has become a single crowded house, interdependence has reached a point where a striving for unilateral advantage to the detriment of another in the final analysis becomes detrimental to oneself.

New Times: Do you agree that there is military-strategic parity between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.?

Matlock: You know this is a term which it is difficult to be exact about. In a sense, both of us have enough military power to prevent the other from striking with impunity. On the other hand, there are large imbalances between the two. For example, the Soviets have many more heavy land-based missiles than does the United States, missiles which are the most accurate types. This imbalance worries us greatly. The United States has more systems in some other areas. However, these are usually slower and less accurate, and hence are not immediate threats. Also there are regional factors, so that I would hesitate to use the word parity. We feel that in destructive force the Soviet arsenals are now greater than ours, for example. Whether this means anything strategically is something else, but it does mean that in arms reduction agreements both sides are going to have to look closely to make sure that the outcome is properly balanced.

Talbott: Overall, I think, it is fair and accurate to say that a state of rough equivalence or parity exists. Within that parity there are dissymmetries, disparities, some of which are profoundly worrisome to Americans.

Lomeiko: As regards military, economic, strategic and other factors parity does exist between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. One can argue oneself hoarse over specific questions, but on the global plane that parity is indubitable because neither of the two countries can win a war, neither can gain superiority without detriment to itself. But maintaining the present level of military-strategic parity is dangerous and costly. Therefore, we propose stage-by-stage nuclear disarmament, ruling out the development of new types of mass destruction weapons, including "star wars" weapons.

New Times: In this connection what

is your view on the concept of "first nuclear strike"?

Matlock: Well, we feel that the Soviet Union at present has a distinct advantage in weaponry which could be used for a disarming first strike. So, we would hope that a way can be found as we negotiate a strategic arms agreement to get a better balance at lower levels. We are obviously willing to reduce some of our systems that may be greater in number than Soviet systems. We know that we have to trade off without asking something for nothing. But this is clearly one area in which we would like to see more reductions, because we feel it is important to reduce the possibility of a first strike and the anxiety from that. Also, we feel that inasmuch as we have no first-strike strategy at all, we think it would be rational to try to eliminate the type of weaponry that can be used for a disarming first strike on both sides, so that regardless of other circumstances neither side need feel that it can be hit by a disarming first strike.

Lomeiko: What about the development of space strike weapons within the framework of SDI? What about the directive Defence Guidance for 1984-1988 which says that "the American nuclear forces must prevail," that "the preferred attack technique would be 'decapitation' strike to destroy Soviet command, control, communications, and intelligence systems." Frankly speaking, all this worries Soviet people. We also remember that four American presidents—Harry Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower (in Korea), Richard Nixon (in Vietnam), and Jimmy Carter (in the Persian Gulf) threatened to use the nuclear weapon, not to speak of the initial test the U.S. carried out over Japanese cities.

The concept of the "nuclear first strike" is amoral and absurd. Amoral, because it expresses the spirit, the philosophy and practice of deterrence which terrorizes mankind. Absurd, because in the nuclear overkill age it spells assured death. Who is the first to die is irrelevant. It is for this reason that the Soviet Union unilaterally undertook the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

Talbott: It is almost impossible for me to conceive a leadership in either country that would plan to launch a preventive attack against the other. I hope that the arms control process would be more successful in the future than it has been today in inducing an evolution in the arsenals of both sides away from weapons that can be perceived by the adversary as potential first-strike weapons. That's the first problem. The other is the problem of the political shadow that nuclear weapons cast. One thing that can be said about nuclear weapons is that they

Soviet and U.S. scientists during an experiment staged in the vicinity of the Soviet nuclear proving range near Semipalatinsk.

exist only to be controlled, only to be negotiated over. But that is a slight exaggeration. Nuclear weapons also carry with them a certain symbolic political importance, and if one side is perceived by its adversary or by the rest of the world to have a considerable advantage in an important category this becomes a political advantage unacceptable to the other side.

New Times: Now a question relating specifically to America: there are many interpretations of the Reagan doctrine. What in your opinion is its essential meaning?

Matlock: I don't know, I've never heard him use it. I guess it's not characteristic of him to put that sort of term on things. But others have used this term in a political context and I must say different people have interpreted it to mean different things. Since I've never heard the President use it I don't know what it should mean.

Talbott: I am happy to speak on that because it was my magazine, Time magazine, that gave the greatest prominence to the term in an essay in April 1985. What about the Reagan doctrine? Does it exist? Yes, of course, it exists. It's not so much something new under the sun, as commentators on your side sometimes would have us believe. The Reagan doctrine basically says that the United States should compete vigorously with the Soviet Union in those countries where the Soviet Union is backing the incumbent regime. As you know, in the 1970s Henry Kissinger wanted very much to have the United States by overt and covert means contest Soviet policy in southern Africa, particularly in Angola. He wasn't supported in that by the United States Congress. The Carter Administration moved to support the modjaheddin, what President Reagan calls the freedom fighters in Afghanistan, after what we call the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and what you call "vremennoye prebyvaniye ogranichennogo kontingenta sovetskikh voisk v Afghanistane ["temporary presence of a limited contingent of Sovie troops in Afghanistan"]. President Reagan has merely pressed this concept, this goal, this objective much more vigorously, much more systematically and much more ambitiously.

New Times: The U.S.S.R. announced and is abiding by a unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions, the proposal for stage-by-stage nuclear disarmament is on the table in Geneva. If these opportunities are missed now, what will things be like in the year 2000?

Matlock: I'm not the one that feels that the door's closed for ever to possibilities, so I think that we'll have to keep working on these large problems and trying to find a solution. However, I would say that in my view the strategic situation in terms of keeping the nuclear peace is very stable today. I do not see any threat of war to the United States and the Soviet Union. There are many tensions, but no real threat of war. I think things are more stable in this respect than they were 15 or 20 years ago and we can see that in the sense that in the 1980s we have not had extreme crises like the Cuban missile crisis in the early 1960s. And although many people feel that tension is higher I do not think that is true in terms of the sort of tensions that could lead to a conflict. So I am confident that both sides are going to continue to avoid conflict with each other, as both of our leaders have stressed, regardless of what happens. But that does not mean that we should not keep trying to get the right sort of arms reduction agreements.

Talbott: It's a loaded question.

New Times: Turn it around any way you please.

Talbott: My own analysis is that like it or not, good or bad, just as the Soviet-American relationship is central to all international relations so the strategic nuclear arms control process which includes the issue of strategic defence is central to the issue of arms control. It is very difficult for me to conceive a meaningful progress in any other area of arms control, be it medium-range systems, conventional systems, multilateral force negotiations in Europe, chemical and biological weapons, or moratorium on testing nuclear weapons, unless there is, first, significant progress in what is now called the nuclear and space talks, that is, the Geneva negotiations.

The reason for that is both political and technical. The political reason is that, I think, it is generally acknowledged that those are the most important talks, and therefore set the tone, establish the climate for the others. The technical reason is that there are linkages between all these different forms of weapons—linkages between offence and defence, linkages between strategic systems and medium-range systems, the linkages between nuclear weapons and conventional weapons and so on. And so it's like a game of dominoes and you can't knock the last domino down until you've knocked the first one down, and the first one is the nuclear and space talks.

New Times: That, strictly speaking, is what was confirmed in Reykjavik. The inflexible stand taken by the U.S. on SDI torpedoed agreements that could have opened for mankind the door to a nuclear-free world.

Lomeiko: The Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions, as a prelude to our stage-by-stage plan to free the planet of nuclear weapons, is a sample of the new political thinking. Given reciprocity, it offers the world an epochal chance to meet the year 2000 not in the armoured garb of Mars, but in the flowing robes of Mercury. If this chance is missed, humanity will drive itself deeper and deeper into the labyrinth of new types of armaments. The world community so far clearly lacks the will and boldness of imagination to combat the monsters of the military-industrial complex. But the process of rethinking has begun, and it is irreversible, because the young generation, prompted by instinct and reason, is bent on mastering the art of survival.

New Times: In conclusion, let us look back to the beginning of this eventful year, to the days when the 27th CPSU Congress was in session in Moscow. "It is not at all easy in the current circumstances to predict the future of the relations between the socialist and capitalist countries, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.," the congress noted. "The decisive factors here will be the correlation of forces on the world scene, the growth and activity of the peace potential.... Much will depend, too, on the degree of realism that Western ruling circles will display in assessing the situation.... The course of history, of social progress, requires ever more insistently that there should be constructive and creative interaction between states and peoples on the scale of the entire world."

Let us hope that the bridge of cooperation and mutual understanding between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. will be built from the American side as well.

Photos by G. Sidorova and TASS

Dubious Aid

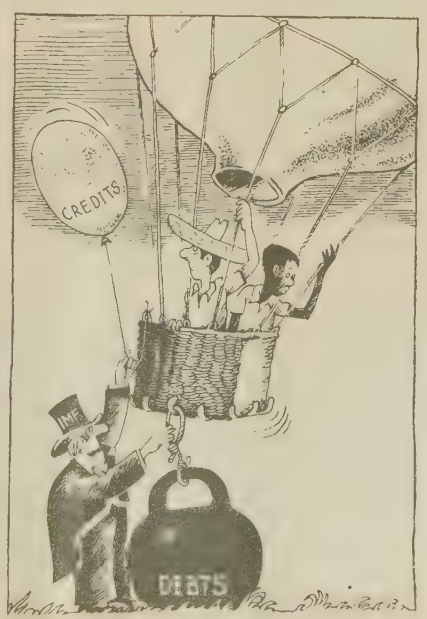
IVAN YERMACHENKOV Cand. Sc. (Econ.)

A quarter of a century ago the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which unites the industrialized capitalist countries, established a Development Assistance Committee (DAC). This step was presented as a response to the demand of the developing world for at least one per cent of the GNP of the economically developed countries as aid to meet its needs. It soon became apparent, however, that the committee had been conceived first and foremost as a centre from which to plan devious measures to camouflage the plunder of Asian, African and Latin American states as welfare.

Double Accounting

Here is one example. On the recommendation of DAC, the item "aid for development" includes money from private sources, made available with the single purpose of replenishing profits and keeping recipient countries in the fold of the capitalist world economic system. (Needless to say, state appropriations are also intended to encourage the expansion of private enterprise.)

Cartoon by N. Shcherbakov



Things go so far that "aid" includes appropriations for ideological expansion into former colonies and dependencies and for the maintenance of substantial machinery for the political and economic infiltration of those countries.

Small wonder that there are glaring discrepancies between the figures published by DAC and the scientific estimates of a representative organization such as the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). The committee claims, for instance, that during the 1980s the West's contribution to development exceeded $80 billion a year. According to UNCTAD's figures, however, the total inflow of financial resources to the developing world was $51.8 billion in 1984 and $42.3 billion in 1985. A closer examination shows that the actual sum of aid was even lower.

First, the machinery, equipment, spares, food and manufactured goods bought with credits under "aid" programmes are priced on average 30 per cent higher than those on the world market. The Japanese newspaper Nihon Keizai, for instance, noted that a sizable proportion of the funds made available by Tokyo to Third World countries was in the form of commodity loans, the main purpose of which was to clear gluts in warehouses.

Second, Western creditors have developed machinery for debt servicing which makes it possible to itemize as "aid" an ever larger proportion of the money made available to Third World countries to repay their earlier loans. An objective analysis of this situation recently led Cabo Verde's President Aristides Pereira to the conclusion that today 81 dollars in every 100 received from abroad go to repay debts and interest, and only 19 are used to meet development needs. It is therefore obvious that in 1985 the West set aside for development needs not $42.3 but just $8 billion, at most 10 per cent of the sum announced by DAC.

Imperialism has always ruthlessly plundered Asia, Africa and Latin America, and recently it has tried to saddle

them with the financial burden of the arms race.

Debts and Profit

The machinery for debt servicing enables the West to pump out of Asia, Africa and Latin America far more cash than it puts into them in the form of aid. For instance, the developing world paid the West more than $900 billion between 1975 and 1984. Payments on interest alone amounted to some $500 billion. According to U.N. data, the outflow of financial resources from Third World countries reached $130 billion in 1985.

Many developing countries have to channel up to half their export revenue into debt servicing, but are still unable to pay off their debts. The Western creditors use this situation to keep them in the sphere of their economic and political influence.

In the past few years Western countries have begun to form various associations, like the Paris Club, to increase their pressure on the Third World. Although unofficial, such associations have leverage enabling them, along with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund and private banks, to impose especially tough terms on debtor countries.

The West's selfish approach to the astronomical indebtedness of the emergent nations, which has reached a trillion dollars, is clearly evident from "austerity" policies imposed by the IMF on developing countries with a view to cutting back public spending on development, curtailing production, freezing wages in the debtor countries, and so on. As a result, unemployment is growing at a runaway pace and living standards are deteriorating. In Latin America, for instance, the number of people hit by poverty increased by roughly 20 million between 1980 and 1985. Altogether 40 per cent of the urban population and 67 per cent of peasants have lost their livelihoods in the countries of the region.

No wonder that the Peruvian government has characterized the IMF as a "tool of economic colonialism," while H. Sunmonu, a Nigerian trade unionist, branded IMF loans as "deadly poison to developing countries" and A. Muhammed, president of the Nigerian stock market, compared them with a time bomb capable of blowing up the political stability of an independent state.

Huge funds are being pumped from the developing to the developed world through the lowering of prices for raw materials and farm produce and the overpricing of manufactured goods.

Prices of copper, nickel, uranium, iron ore, diamonds, tin and other metals have taken an especially bad plunge in the past few years. Tin prices, for instance, dropped by half in 1985, compared with 1984. The West also gained considerably from a fall in oil prices from $28 per barrel in November 1985 to $9 last summer. The West is estimated to "save" at least $150 billion on the oil racket alone.

Protectionist barriers in the way of goods exported by the developing world are doing great damage to it as well. UNCTAD experts have estimated that in the past 20 years this damage has come to about $700 billion, or more than $34 billion a year.

In 1980-85 alone the developing nations lost $104 billion as a result of the disadvantageous correlation between the prices of their exports and imports. For instance, in view of the fall in the prices of raw materials, they had to increase their exports by 25 per cent in 1985, as compared with 1980, in order to pay for the same volume of imports.

Little wonder that the developing countries are trying hard to achieve self-sufficiency in food and basic necessities. They do not want to stretch out a begging hand to the West indefinitely. Burkina Faso's President Thomas Sankara remarked sarcastically: "In France they give soup to their vagrants. This is just what the industrial countries are doing to us. Instead, they should give us the resources to enable us to provide food for ourselves."

Leverage

Washington's policy is a good example of the gap between the interests of the West and those of developing countries. The Reagan Administration, the New York Times admits, is pursuing an African policy based not on the needs of the African nations but rather on the ideology and considerations involved in East-West relations.

Since the newspaper understands by "ideology" the battle against social progress, and by "East-West relations" attempts to foster an environment hostile to socialist countries, it is easy to understand the fervour with which the United States finances and arms counterrevolutionaries in Angola, Afghanistan and Nicaragua, and backs the South African racists. The counterrevolutionaries are implementing a policy of "constructive destruction." The damage done by this "aid" to the frontline countries in southern Africa alone comes to more than $10 billion.

Strategically, U.S. "aid" is aimed at weakening and eventually obliterating the public sector in developing countries. Countless efforts have been made to inculcate the concepts of private capitalist enterprise in politicians and businessmen in those countries. Secretary of State George Shultz once remarked that the U.S. experience of development was an example worthy of emulation. Yet the projection of that example onto the Third World can be reduced to the primitive idea that development can only be guaranteed by private capital and, more specifically, transnationals.

Yet awareness of what is at the end of that road is gradually sinking in. Small wonder that imperialist policy is sometimes referred to as "economic Darwinism." Perhaps this is simplistic, but it is perfectly clear: as the strong devours the weak in the animal kingdom, peoples deliberately pushed to the brink of economic and financial disaster should bow to the diktat of imperialist tycoons. This law is being laid down by financial interests.

The course of developments has thus raised the question of restructuring international economic relations on a fair and democratic basis and establishing a new economic order without dependence or subordination. The Soviet Union is convinced that overcoming the legacy of the colonial past calls for the eradication of backwardness, the fair settlement of the trillion-dollar indebtedness and the curbing of the arms race to promote development.

This is how the Communist Party of the Soviet Union formulates its overall approach to this problem of vital importance to all humanity. Its Programme reads: "The CPSU supports the just struggle waged by the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and the oppression of transnational monopolies, for the assertion of the sovereign right to be master of one's own resources, for a restructuring of international relations on an equal and democratic basis, for the establishment of a new international economic order, and for the deliverance from the burden of debt imposed by the imperialists." ■

The Garden by Rip Mountain

Why Action Z is so popular in Czechoslovakia

Well-built, with finely chiselled features, Jaroslav Prochazka looks as if he would be adept with an axe, a jack plane or any other tool. He tells us with shining eyes about the affairs of the national committee of which he is chairman.

Choltice

Only a few people in the village are farmers. The majority work in nearby factories. They drive away in their cars or in buses along the narrow lanes and return at dusk or late in the evening. Yet even for them the village is more than a dormitory town. They are well settled here.

Last year Choltice marked its 700th anniversary by opening an airy school building with equipment that would make the most prestigious school in the capital green with envy. But this was more than just the opening of another school. It was the villagers' answer to the call for Action Z (from the Czech word **zvedlebovat,** to build up and beautify), a movement for improving the amenities of towns and villages.

The construction of the school began in 1979. It was then estimated that it would cost 30 million crowns. As it turned out, it cost the national committee only 18 million crowns. The result of economizing? Not at all. The gap between the preliminary cost estimate and the actual cost forms the economic substance of Action Z.

If you want your children to have good classrooms and study in one shift, and every kid to have a place in a good kindergarten, if you want another gymnasium or swimming pool in the neighbourhood, there is a sure though not very easy way of doing it. Donate some of your free time, your skills and enthusiasm to each project.

The 12 million crowns "saved" in Choltice were never meant to be spent. The government provided the national committee with 18 million crowns' worth of building machines and implements, timber, cement, glass, electrical equipment, and furnishings, in short, everything needed to build a modern three-storey school. The 12 million crowns would have been the cost of wages to workers, if they had been paid. As it is, the only full-time worker during the whole construction period—from the groundbreaking to the ringing of the school bell to summon guests to the opening ceremony—was Jaroslav Adamira, a retired construction engineer.

Jaroslav Prochazka secured a 100-per-cent vote.

Arriving in Choltice on a Sunday morning, we saw Jiri Nauman, a lathe-worker from the Tesla plant, Vladislav Franek, a cook from Pardubice, and Josef Kolar, an electronics expert (they live but do not work in Choltice), building a summer swimming pool. They were also plasterers and bulldozer operators. In short, every skill was represented. On that morning five of the people who reported for work on the construction site were sent home as there was not enough for them to do. Their turn would come the following Sunday. The 25 people who remained on the site immediately got down to work. The necessary tools and materials were to hand.

This year Jaroslav Prochazka was reelected chairman of the national committee, getting 100 per cent of the vote. All the 1,760 ballots in his constituency were cast for him.

Under the current construction programme, the people of Choltice will have completed a new polyclinic by 1988. It will cost 5 million crowns. The government has allocated materials and equipment to the value of less than 4 million crowns. That does not include manpower. In the village of Svincany they are finishing laying a water supply line, almost half the cost of which will be accounted for by voluntary labour. There will be the same ratio between government investment and the cost of labour in the construction of an asphalt road to link three new villages.

Perhaps Choltice is exceptional? Is Action Z really all that popular? What

The school in Choltice which the villagers themselves built.

Continued from our previous issue.

What We Debated in Jablonna

SERGEI GOLYAKOV New Times political analyst

Late last autumn an old castle near Warsaw again became the venue for the international journalists' meeting Jablonna VI. The meeting drew 120 representatives from leading periodicals, TV and radio companies and news agencies in 26 Helsinki Conference participant states. The subjects under discussion were "The World After Reykjavik," "Europe in the Modern World" and "The Responsibility of Journalists in East-West Dialogue." Sergei Golyakov, New Times political analyst, was at the meeting with other Soviet journalists, and here is his report.

There is a specific idea, I think, behind the fact that our Polish friends have been arranging these meetings in the same place for 15 years in succession. The small cosy town of Jablonna was then ablaze with autumn colours. Towns like it can be found all over Europe—and all over the planet, for that matter. In this close-knit community everyone knows all about everyone else, and the joys and sorrows of each are shared by all.

I am far from implying that the tiny town is a political microcosm of the world with all its complex problems. In the last analysis, however, politics is concerned with the destinies, lives and well-being of individuals. After all, should not elementary worldly wisdom and plain common sense prevail in international relations? It is this that the Jablonna meetings uphold.

Poland's Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski reminded us of that as he opened the meeting. "I believe," he said, "that all of us share an awareness of the earth as our common destiny, and that this meeting is a manifestation of concern for its present state and for its future. I am of the opinion that our views on the gist of the phenomena

that put the whole of mankind in jeopardy coincide. Our ideas of their causes and of ways to abolish them may differ, however. But what we all of us have in common is concern for the future and the realization that we have no right to make the mistake of standing idly by."

Jablonna VI has made it only too obvious that he who stands idly by today is lost. The fatal progress of nuclear weapons leaves us no time for delay. If we do not stop the arms race today and do not block its way to outer space we may face a fatal aggravation of international tensions, with all the unpredictable consequences that could ensue. As a colleague from the G.D.R. put it, man has become the master of his destiny in a most unexpected and sinister sense. Not only the quality of his life, but also his very survival now depends on him.

Such a problem has never arisen before, but now it confronts mankind full face. Where is the way out?

Reykjavik indicated a realistic solution to this problem, the overwhelming majority of participants agreed. For all its drama, the Soviet-American summit on Icelandic soil pointed the way to a nuclear-free and, consequently, a secure world.

Reykjavik was, predictably, the first item on the agenda. In fact the theme predominated at all the sittings. Apart from two or three discordant voices, the consensus in Jablonna was that Reykjavik had been the moment of truth and given people hope which they would not abandon. The complete elimination of nuclear missile stockpiles in the foreseeable future is a realistic proposition. It requires the political will that the Soviet Union demonstrates so sincerely and with such a high sense of responsibility. It has repeatedly reaffirmed its readiness to take the interests of the other side into account, to make concessions and compromises in order to attain the main objective.

What about the notorious SDI, which proved a stumbling block in Reykjavik? Symptomatically, this product of a twisted militaristic mentality found almost no supporters in Jablonna. Even the American participants in the discussion baulked at defending their President's space ambitions, as did their colleagues from the NATO countries. True, Jim Hoagland of the Washington Post called on the meeting to take it on trust that the President's initiative offered a "salvation." But his was a lone and unconvincing voice.

Have the advocates of SDI seen the light? Hardly. I think the explanation lies elsewhere. The plans to spread the arms race to outer space have awakened Europeans to their responsibility for the future of the continent. This clearly manifested itself in Jablonna. Washington has long consigned Europe to the fate of a nuclear hostage. It is in Europe that the Pentagon would like to try out in practice its doctrines of "limited" or

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makes people spend their time and effort working on public projects?

Who Works Better?

Having travelled hundreds of kilometres around Czechoslovakia, we used every opportunity to ask these questions.

This is how the nationwide movement is seen by:

Jaroslav Kvac, a worker at a repair plant and deputy to the national committee of Eastern Czechia:

"The good thing about Action Z is that it was not initiated 'from the top.' Nobody invented it. It was prompted by experience and the good old tradition of neighbours helping each other out. Here we do not judge the weight of local government by the number of questions it raises with superior organizations. Raising questions is just a small part of its business. Local authorities must be judged by how much they do to improve living conditions in their constituency. We think it is wrong to wait till somebody in Prague gets round to discussing the question of whether flower beds should be laid in the village square. One can, of course, hope that the government will plan the building of an orphanage or a swimming pool one's town needs. But one can choose a different line and say: 'Give us the necessary money and materials and we'll take care of the rest.' We mean all the inhabitants, both those who work in a nearby factory and in the local farming cooperative."

Adolf Hajek, first secretary of the regional Communist Party Committee in Liberec, Northern Czechia:

"Each year our region does 100 million crowns worth of construction work. But we actually spend only 30 million. In 1980 we decided to provide all children with a place in the kindergarten. Five years later, we did not have to turn down a single mother who applied to have her child put in a kindergarten. We often have requests for materials from the Youth League. They have already built several sports grounds and swimming pools. We are planning to build a park and a bus terminal, roads and pavements, and new shops in villages. During the five-year-plan period, we are going to use up 500 million crowns in subsidies over and above the extensive government plan for industrial and cultural construction."

Miroslav Nejedly, chairman, regional trade union council in Pelhrimov, Southern Czechia:

"But for this popular movement we would not have many of the things we have now. The cost of the house of

"protracted" nuclear war. Europeans fear, not without reason, that they will be the first to fall victim to SDI. But isn't our ancient continent worthy of a better fate, the participants in the Jablonna discussion asked. There can only be one answer to this question. As a community of states and nations, Europe must rise above ideological differences and declare for all the world to hear: "It is up to the Europeans themselves to decide the destiny of their common home."

I am not trying to create the impression that the Jablonna meeting was distinguished by absolute unanimity on all issues. Far from it. There were disputes and sharp clashes of opinion, especially on the subject of what concrete contribution journalists can make towards the improvement of the international climate, of what they should regard as their civic and professional duty.

Flora Lewis, a reputable New York Times observer, believes it her duty to cover events accurately, and communicate facts to readers. Krzysztof Wojna of the Polish radio agreed with her that the public indeed formed its judgement about the outside world on the basis of the facts supplied to it by the mass media. But how were these facts gleaned? How had Western newsmen presented the situation in Poland since 1980, for instance? Their readers get a distorted picture, because newsmen get their "dope" from just one source—what representatives of the opposition tell them in pubs.

Peter Kandall, head of the CBS company's Bonn bureau, tried to make a virtue of the U.S. press having allegedly exposed and investigated "Irangate" on its own. But doesn't the same press daily present the Soviet Union to Americans as "the enemy"? Doesn't it fan anti-communist hysteria, and sow hostility and mistrust between our countries?

Rebecca Khaazal, a correspondent for the Swedish working-class paper Norrskensflamman told the meeting, in an emotional speech, that political discrimination, violation of human rights and witch-hunts were not uncommon in her country with its traditional bourgeois democracy, either, but the "free press" never wrote about those issues.

It was not the purpose of the Jablonna meeting to make converts. The question was how, for all the differences of political opinion and ideological standpoint, to get the main thing across: war must be opposed before it breaks out.

Our Hungarian colleague's story about a Budapest schoolgirl who tried to talk her girlfriends into going away to Australia or New Zealand where no war would reach them seemed symbolic to many of us. Why go all the way to those distant lands, her friends objected. Let's apply ourselves to the task of ruling out war instead.

Why don't we journalists pool our efforts in this direction, too, Zygmunt Broniarek of the Trybuna Ludu asked his colleagues. Rather than sow confusion, which can only keep the arms race going, the media must explain that this race inexorably brings us nearer to the brink of fatal disaster, and must be stopped before it is too late.

The present aggravation of the international situation, Poland's leader Wojciech Jaruzelski, told Jablonna VI, lends special urgency to the need for a joint effort for peace and continued East-West dialogue. If journalists succeed in bringing this idea home to the world public, it will become a mighty material force capable of bridling those opposed to peace and prosperity on earth.

These words summed up as it were our sincere and open discussion and expressed the essence of the Jablonna VI meeting's call to journalists across the world to strengthen cooperation in solving global problems.

culture in Pacov was 20 million crowns, while we spent only 5 million. Initially we decided that every trade union member would donate five hours of voluntary work. But when we saw how effective it was we decided to donate 9 hours of free time towards Action Z. Every resident in our region donates an average of 20 hours of voluntary work a year.

"Twenty hours a year does not perhaps make a lot of difference in an individual's life, but if you put everyone's labour together you get a whole army of enthusiastic workers."

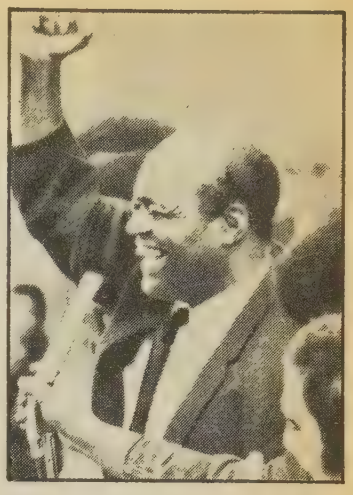
Engineer Bedrich Kuban, resident of Horni Becva village:

"I work in a factory 15 kilometres from the village. But being a permanent resident here, I am head of the local Svazarm, the organization in aid of the armed forces. A hundred and twenty members of our organization, along with members of the voluntary fire protection society, the Youth League, the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society, and amateur gardeners, are taking part in Action Z. I do not mean to offend anyone, but I must say that voluntary workers perform better than professional builders. Nobody wants to be seen to work badly by his neighbours.

"In addition to a kindergarten, the people of Horni Becva are building a gymnasium. They have already built a House of Culture and a new fire depot. Lined up for construction are a shopping centre, a heated swimming pool, a funicular to the mountains, a car repair station and tennis courts."

The legendary hero Cech left a behest to plant a wonderful garden on this land....

B. PISHCHIK and L. MLECHIN
our special correspondents



HENRY WINSTON

The man proudly holding aloft his red party card No. 1 is National Chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A., Henry Winston, photographed many years ago on the occasion of the issuing of party cards to the membership. This is the image of the party leader that is engraved in the memory of his comrades and all those who are fighting for the working people's rights, for the freedom, independence and happiness of people everywhere. Thus it is cherished in the hearts of Communists the world over.

The whole of his complex, eventful life was dedicated to the struggle. In 1931 he joined the Young Communist League and in 1933, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. It was Henry Winston who led the unemployed march from Kansas City to Washington in the early 1930s.

In the McCarthy period the authorities prosecuted him and his colleagues on trumped-up charges. In 1956 Winston was sent to jail. Five years later, under pressure from American and world public opinion, Winston, ill and blind, was released from prison. And despite his poor health he returned to his place in the front ranks of the fighters.

Comrade Winston, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., was to say of him, like a steel cable binds together the party, and the party with the working class.

From 1966 Henry Winston held the post of National Chairman of the party.

Today we pay homage to the memory of a great internationalist, a good friend of the Soviet Union, an outstanding fighter for the triumph of the ideas of socialism and communism.

Pendulum

From our own correspondent
YURI TAVROVSKY

Japanese-Chinese relations can be described as the swinging of the pendulum—from the fifteen-year war which cost millions of Chinese their lives to "the best relations ever this century" (to quote Hu Yaobang, CC CPC General Secretary), from no trade at all to an influx of Japanese goods seen by some as "economic aggression," from mutual hatred and contempt to joint film productions and tourist trips to the Huanghe River headwaters.

Conflicting home and foreign policy factors and widely differing economic interests remain very much in evidence, however.

Politics

The Tokyo-Peking dialogue has been under way since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1972 and the signing of the treaty on peace and friendship in 1978. Prime ministers Kakuei Tanaka, Masayoshi Ohira and Zenko Suzuki have visited Peking. In his four years in office Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone has already been to Peking twice—in 1984 and last November. For its part, Tokyo played host to Deng Xiaoping (1978), Hua Guofeng (1980), Premier of the State Council Zhao Ziyang (1982) and Hu Yaobang (1983). Foreign ministers, CPC executives, prominent figures in Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party and in certain opposition parties periodically cross the Sea of Japan.

No small role in promoting dialogue is played by various public organizations, with the Committee for 21st Century Japan-China Friendship, set up at Nakasone's suggestion, ranking prominently amongst them. On the Chinese side, the committee is headed by Wan Zhaoguo, Secretary of the CC CPC.

As for the subject matter of the dialogue, it comprises, for the most part, complex problems of bilateral relations which involve contradictions that at times assume critical proportions.

Such crises have occurred twice in the past five years and were connected, on both occasions, with the gloomy history of Japanese-Chinese relations in the first half of the century. In 1982, the doctoring of Japanese history textbooks and attempts to justify the Japanese military's crimes against China evoked a storm of public indignation in China and brought official protests from the P.R.C. government. In the autumn of 1985, Peking reacted strongly to the visit by the Japanese Prime Minister, for the first time in postwar years, to Yasukuni Temple, where, according to Shinto beliefs, the souls of the principal war criminals—organizers of the aggression against China and other Asian states sentenced to capital punishment by the Tokyo Tribunal—rest in peace. In protest, the P.R.C. cancelled arrangements for a Japanese film festival in China and a guest tour by a famous musical company.

Other potentially dangerous issues include Japan's close links with Taiwan and the dispute over the Diaoyudao Islands (known in Japan as Senkaku). Although prime ministers Zhou Enlai and Kakuei Tanaka agreed, back in 1972, to leave the settlement of the issue to coming generations, Tokyo inaugurated a commission for the development of petroleum resources off Okinawa and Senkaku Islands in 1981. It transpired then that Japanese firms had already carried geological and hydrological surveys off the Senkaku (Diaoyudao) Islands and built a helicopter station there. A year ago the Maritime Safety Board (the coast guard service) "leaked" to the newspapers a "confidential report" that recommended that the government "take practical action to demonstrate Japanese sovereignty over the Senkaku Islands."

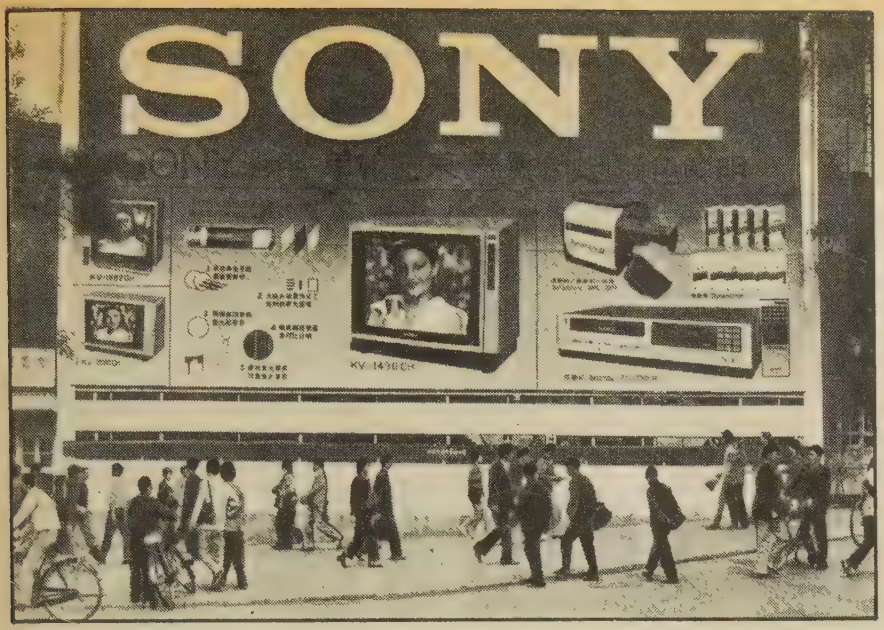
Economic Matters

Japanese-Chinese trade statistics look good, on the whole. The value of commodity turnover grew from $1.1 billion in 1972 to $19 in 1985. Japan has become China's biggest supplier of goods, accounting for nearly 40 per cent of its imports, and the third biggest market for Chinese exports (after Hongkong and Macao), absorbing about a quarter of what China has to offer. China is now a major buyer of Japanese steel castings and complete petrochemical plant. Sales of Japanese cars, domestic electrical appliances and other consumer goods on the Chinese market have grown appreciably. For their part, Japanese companies purchase a substantial proportion of such key items of China's export as petroleum, textiles, farm produce and coal. The number of joint Japanese-Chinese enterprises grew to 148 towards the end of 1985, their specializations ranging from car assembly to brewing. Under intergovernment agreements, Japan has granted China credits to the sum of 300 billion yens; in the seven-year period from 1984 China is to get another 470 billion. Japanese private banks take an active part in granting the P.R.C. loans and credits on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

Statistics as such, however, do not afford a full picture of the state of Japanese-Chinese trade and economic relations. At the recent Tokyo symposium, Reflections on the Economies of Japan and China in the Run-up to the 21st Century, representatives of the two countries' state, industrial, banking and research organizations proved to have many bones to pick.

The Chinese complained about their trade deficit with Japan soaring from $1.2 billion in 1983 to two billion (a year later and to $5.9 billion (an all-time high) in 1985. Japanese economists retorted that Japanese exporters were not to blame for trade deficit growth which was due chiefly to the weakening of centralized control over foreign trade transactions in China's provinces, cities and major factories, which had imported large batches of cars, TV sets, washing machines and refrigerators in 1984-85.

Chinese speakers at the symposium drew attention to the insufficiency of Japanese capital investments in the P.R.C., the excessively slow rate of high-technology transfer and the small num-



The glut of Japanese goods, a symptom of disproportion in the bilateral balance of commercial and economic relations, causes serious alarm in China, where there is even talk of "economic aggression" and a "second occupation."
From Newsweek (U.S.)

ber of joint Japanese-Chinese enterprises. Even among the joint enterprises already in operation, medium and small ones predominate, and the equipment they use is far from up-to-date. For their part, Japanese businessmen remember Peking's cancellation of its large orders for metallurgical and petrochemical equipment, all the more so as contracts already signed are still being revised. Many orders are not fulfilled to schedule. Potential capital investors and advanced technology suppliers are not sure that the current economic reforms will persist.

There are other reasons why big business does not want to bind itself to long-term links with China, which could become a dangerous rival on the Asian and world markets as a result of Japanese technology being combined with cheap manpower.

In the West attempts are still being made to gear economic "aid" to China to strategic objectives. At the Ottawa meeting of the heads of leading capitalist states (1981), Sunao Sonoda, the then Foreign Minister of Japan, said: "The West should take a positive approach to cooperation with Peking in the matter of the economic modernization of China and thus integrate it into the economic structure of the Western world. Japan is in the forefront of these efforts."

A Guilt Complex?

The Japanese public at large looks on China with special feelings which stem from a two-thousand-year history of close relations and from the awareness of what they have given Japan: writing the religious and ethical principles of Confucianism and Buddhism, the Celestial Empire's cultural values. The guilt complex for the atrocities perpetrated in the last war, and the desire to atone for them with concessions in the economy and trade have been most pronounced over recent decades.

In Japan, kindly regard for China has always existed cheek by jowl with anti-Chinese and anti-communist stereotypes. Predominant till the end of the sixties, these stereotypes are now coming to the fore again. This process is linked to an overall increase in conservative and nationalist sentiment, and to the change of generations. Almost two thirds of Japan's 120 million citizens were born after the war; far from feeling responsible for what happened 40-50 years ago, they regard the Japanese themselves as victims of the war. The young are again being educated in the spirit of Yamato racial superiority and Japan's infallibility. The leaders of the country demand that "the results of World War II be summed up once and for all," and pronounce other nations intellectually inferior to the Japanese. This is "illustrated" by school textbooks that distort historical facts, revanchist films and TV programmes, the proportion of which continues to grow.

In the P.R.C., notions of Japan have undergone marked changes. Whereas early in the "open doors policy" period everything Japanese—consumer goods, machinery, TV films, pop music—was universally admired, today this enthusiasm has cooled. The militarist and nationalist accents of Tokyo's policy, the unfavourable structure of trade exchange, the arrogant behaviour of businessmen and tourists have resuscitated lingering memories of the recent past. During last year's demonstrations in Peking, Wuhan, Xian and Chengdu, students chanted slogans condemning not only Nakasone's visit to Yasukuni Temple and the revival of Japanese militarism, but also "economic aggression" and "the second occupation of China." It was not without taking this change of public attitudes into account that the Chinese authorities sanctioned press publications and museum exhibitions about the massacre in Nanking, when the city was seized by the Japanese army in 1937, and about Detachment 731 which experimented with bacteriological weapons, using thousands of Chinese, Koreans and Russians as human guinea pigs.

It will be years before the wounds inflicted on the Chinese people during the Japanese aggression heal. And this will only happen if revanchist-minded Japanese politicians cease to provoke outbursts of indignation by their anti-Chinese statements and actions.

Tokyo

APPOINTMENTS

Igor Nikolayevich KRASAVIN
Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Iceland

Igor Krasavin, a Russian, was born on May 3, 1930, in Piryatin, Poltava Region, the Ukraine. In 1953 he graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations. He has been a member of the CPSU since 1959.

After finishing the institute he worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 1953 to 1957 he was member of the staff of the U.S.S.R. embassy in Finland. In 1957-65 he held various diplomatic posts in the Scandinavian Department of the Foreign Ministry, and in 1965-72 was first secretary of the Soviet embassy in Finland. From 1972 to 1975 he headed a division of the Scandinavian Department of the Foreign Ministry, and from 1975 to 1980 was counsellor and counsellor-envoy of the Soviet embassy in Finland. Between 1980 and 1986 Igor Krasavin was deputy head of the Scandinavian Department and of the Second European Department of the Foreign Ministry.

Igor Krasavin has been awarded a number of government decorations.

From Pearls to Oil

EDMOND SHAKHNAZARYAN

The United Arab Emirates, lying on the eastern fringe of the Middle East, came into existence some 15 years ago. Formerly, the sheikhdoms that now constitute this federation had remained in the background of world politics and were known only to philatelists for the colourful stamps issued there. Today the U.A.E. is a respected entity on the Arab and the world stage.

The "Pirate Coast"

This is what Europeans called the eastern coast of the Arabian Peninsula. It may be that European ships were harassed by indigenous population: unbidden guests are not usually welcome. But it is not unlikely that the stories about pirates were dramatized by colonialists to justify their expansionist policy in the Persian Gulf region.

From time immemorial, the people of that sun-scorched desert area in the east of the peninsula gained their livelihood by farming, fishing and pearling. Fishing for pearls was a thriving business in the middle of the last century, bringing handsome profits to the Persian Gulf sheikhdoms. But then pearling declined. The lynchpin of U.A.E.'s economy today is oil.

As for piracy, it would be true to speak of the piratical actions of the colonial powers that virtually dominated the northeastern coastal area of the Arabian Peninsula. First came aliens in ships flying the Portuguese flag, later, the Union Jack, and recently U.S. ships have begun to frequent the area. Aircraft carriers with jet planes, missiles and atomic weapons on board have superseded the gun-carrying brigs and frigates, while open plunder in the form of taking pearls out of the area has given way to oil concessions and the crafty financial operations of London and New York bankers.

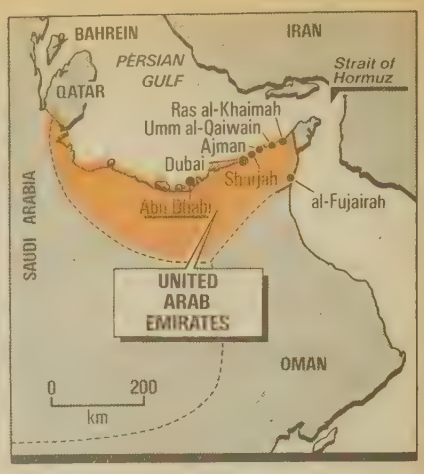
By the end of 1971, the prolonged fight of the sheikhdoms making up Trucial Oman ended in success. British troops had to evacuate from the area "east of Suez," and on December 2, six emirates—Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, al-Fujairah and Umm al-Qaiwain—proclaimed the formation of the United Arab Emirates. In February 1972 one more emirate, Ras al-Khaimah, joined the federation.

The highest body of autnority in the U.A.E. is the Supreme Council, consisting of the rulers of all the emirates. The council determines the general policy of the state, enacts federal laws, and elects a President and Vice-President. The President of the federation presides over the meetings of the Supreme Council. By virtue of their importance Abu Dhabi (86 per cent of the area and 42 per cent of the population) and Dubai (5.5 per cent of the area and 26 per cent of the population) enjoy the right of veto in decision-making. The ruler of Abu Dhabi, Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahayan, has been President since the establishment of the U.A.E. The key posts in the state are held, as a rule, by members of the emirates' ruling families. There is also a consultative body, the Federal National Council (parliament) consisting of 40 representatives from all the emirates. The federal budget is made up of contributions by the emirates equivalent to half their revenue from oil sales.

The striving for unity to protect common interests is still attended in the U.A.E. by centrifugal tendencies and disagreements that often arise between individual emirates.

The Main Wealth

The United Arab Emirates could be called a state of nouveaux riches because its present wealth was acquired quite recently. An amusing story is still told of a sheikh who, having no confidence in banks, kept about two million dollars at home in a sack only to find one day that the money had been



gnawed to trash by rats. This incident really happened some twenty years ago.

The U.A.E. went into the oil business later than other states in the region. In Abu Dhabi oil output started in 1962, to be followed by Dubai in 1969, Sharjah in 1974, and Ras al-Khaimah only last year.

Prior to independence, the oil industry was owned by foreign monopolies, with the emirates receiving only a fraction of the profit. With rich oil fields in their hands, Western companies struck while the iron was hot: no other country had such high rates of growth in oil outpu and oil profit as the future members of the U.A.E.

It is hard to say how long the oil rush would have continued had it not been for objective factors that emerged on the international front. The oil boom in Abu Dhabi and Dubai occurred at a time of general upsurge in the anti-imperialist struggle. The granting of independence to the U.A.E., Bahrein, Qatar and South Yemen, the active struggle of members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the U.A.E. included, for the right to dispose of their oil resources, and the use of oil by Arab countries as a lever against imperialist states that backed the Israeli aggression, have undermined the position of the monopolies in the Persian Gulf region.

Shortly after the proclamation of independence, the United Arab Emirates began gradually to buy out the assets of foreign oil companies. As a result, all oil fields became state-owned. In 1981 the U.A.E. also nationalized the internal distribution network owned by foreign companies: petrol stations, storages and transport. During the first ten years of independence, the oil profits of the U.A.E. grew more than a hundredfold—from $200 million in 1970 to $22 billion-plus in 1981. A rec-

ord oil output of nearly 97 million tons was registered in 1977. Later, in line with OPEC decisions, oil output was scaled down to 50 million tons in 1985. Oil prices fell too, and oil profits dropped by more than half, to roughly $10 billion. But since the U.A.E. has a population of slightly over 1.5 million, per capita income, according to statistics, continues to remain the highest in the world.

Where to Invest the Money?

Eric Rouleau, a Le Monde correspondent visiting the U.A.E., noted the striving of the emirates to build prestigious projects. The federation, he wrote, "has five airports and seven ports whose size and luxury is really breathtaking, ... three radio stations and two ultramodern TV centres, not to mention 396 banks and their branches."

Skyscrapers in the new business quarter provide a foil for traditional Arabian architecture in old-town Dubai, the United Arab Emirates.

From the Financial Times (Britain)

While tackling its economic objectives, the U.A.E. pays great attention to the stability of incomes from sources that do not depend on oil price fluctuations or the exhaustion of oil reserves. Despite some duplication in investment, the emirates have built a considerable infrastructure and a social welfare system. Modern towns and agricultural oases, educational establishments and hospitals have sprung up in the desert in a brief space of time.

Industry is developing primarily in Abu Dhabi and Dubai. Large plants have been built only in the state-capitalist sector with the participation of foreign capital, mainly British, Japanese and American. Monopolies have maintained substantial presence in the nationalized oil fields, controlling and directing the work of foreign technical personnel, the provision of spare parts, transportation and a considerable proportion of oil refining and sales. In exactly the same way they are penetrating other industrial plants. It is no wonder that the building costs of a petrochemical complex in the U.A.E. are 30 per cent higher than those for a similar enterprise in industrialized capitalist countries. When it comes to marketing, the products of U.A.E. plants encounter high customs duties, as, for instance, in the Common Market countries.

The expansion of the oil and gas industry remains the main trend of development. At the same time, an aluminium plant and a steel mill have been set up in Dubai, and desalination, power and cement plants and housebuilding factories are under construction.

Until recently there were more than adequate funds for all these projects. The U.A.E.'s exports usually exceeded imports by nearly double, and the lion's share of the profit was transferred abroad in the form of bank deposits and investments in various foreign companies, which brings no small return. The drop in oil prices in 1985 and 1986 and the subsequent fall in profits compelled the U.A.E. somewhat to reduce outlays. The 1986 budget expenditure, for instance, has been cut to the lowest level in the past seven years.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the indigenous population of the U.A.E. has become a national minority. The emirates were not prepared for the oil boom. They lacked the personnel needed to carry out the projects, and therefore foreign labour and experts had to be invited in. As a result, the population of the U.A.E. has risen from 125,000 to 1.6 million in the years since independence. Palestinians, Lebanese, Egyptians, Yemenis, Iranians, Pakistanis, Indians and Filipinos have poured into the federation in search of a living. At present expatriates constitute over 90 per cent of the work force.

The U.A.E.'s leaders would like to end this situation, which engenders certain social, ethnic and political problems, and are therefore paying considerable attention to the training of national personnel. Compulsory and free education has been introduced, and the country's first university has already trained specialists in various fields. Hundreds of young people have been granted state scholarships to be educated in other Arab countries as well as in European or American universities. The general level of education has reached 30 per cent.

Political Problems

The U.A.E. is developing in a somewhat stormy sea of regional problems where reefs are encountered at almost every step. Among them are the outstanding Middle East problem, political and economic pressure on the part of major capitalist powers, especially the United States, which has assimilated the Persian Gulf region into the zone of its "vital interests," and the Iran-Iraq war.

In these circumstances, non-alignment was chosen by the U.A.E. from the outset as its foreign policy. The federation pursues a policy of maintaining good-neighbourly relations with the other countries in the region and cooperating with them for the protection of common interests within the Gulf Cooperation Council. The U.A.E. renders financial assistance to some Asian and African countries for their development needs. It is a member of the United Nations, the non-aligned movement, the Arab League, the Organization of Islamic Conference and OPEC. In these organizations the U.A.E. favours maintaining the security of the Persian Gulf by the efforts of the states in the region, without outside interference, ending the Iran-Iraq war, making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, supporting the Arab struggle against Israeli aggression, and ensuring the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

The constructive policy of the U.A.E. was reaffirmed in November 1985 by the conclusion of an agreement with the Soviet Union on the exchange of embassies. Our countries share the striving for peace and cooperation on an equal footing.

■

In Annaba and El-Hadjar

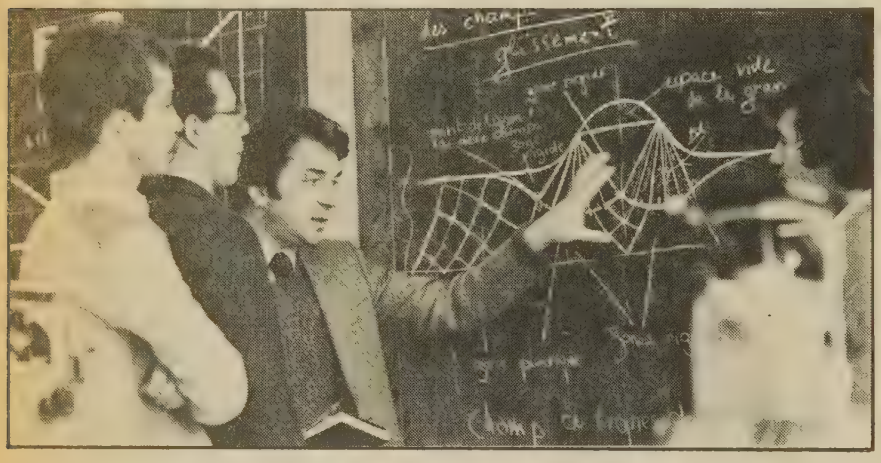
Annaba is a city in a class by itself. Every period in its history has left its mark on it. You see Mauritanian-style palaces formerly owned by Turkish beys; the once forbidding fortresses, relics of Ottoman rule, from the walls of which the rebellious Algerians were battered with cannonballs; and the ornate mansions of the French colonialists, whom it took 132 years of liberation struggle to oust. Contemporary independent Algeria is embodied in modern architecture; the theatre, the university, a vocational training centre, a stadium, and apartment blocks with all modern conveniences for ordinary working people.

Our group of Soviet journalists went to Annaba to see the iron-and-steel complex in its suburb of El-Hadjar.

For the managers, engineers and technicians of the El-Hadjar works, Annaba is first and foremost a port city, an outlet for Algerian exports—rolled stock, pipes, sheet metal, pig iron, mineral fertilizers, to name only a few items.

Annaba and El-Hadjar are integrally bound up with each other. The stream of goods flowing from the works to the port never runs dry. El-Hadjar produces about 1.5 million tons of steel a year. In two years from now the figure will have reached two million.

We started our tour of the works by inspecting two blast furnaces—one built by the French, and the other with technical assistance from the Soviet Union. The latter accounts for 80 per cent of the works' output. Algerians have every praise for the Soviet experts they invited to build the high-capacity blast furnace. The experts, representing the Soviet foreign trade organization Tyazhpromexport, still work in El-Hadjar. They have rich experience of building metallurgical works in India, Egypt, Iran and other countries, where they have left behind fond memories.



A Soviet instructor conducting classes at Annaba University, some of whose graduates are now employed in El-Hadjar.

TASS photo

"Soviet people are highly respected here," Mostapha Boussaid, deputy director-general of the complex, told us. "That is why Algerians are learning Russian so willingly. After all, we have to work shoulder to shoulder with them."

V.S. Grebenshchikov, representative of Tyazhpromexport in El-Hadjar, dwelt on how the Soviet experts shared their experience with Algerian workers.

"We are leaving with our conscience clear," he said. "Now our Algerian friends will be able to manage this complex production on their own. The complex is already fully manned by Algerian workers and engineers, and we are now training more of them—El-Hadjar is growing, you see."

The Algerian engineers and technicians we talked with thought highly of the reliability of Soviet equipment. Nevertheless, it is not everlasting, of course. A contract was signed recently to build a block for the production of spare parts in El-Hadjar, so as to relieve Algeria of the need to import them and save it hard currency.

We inspected the stockrooms, where we learned that the works supplies its products to plants for farm machine building, oil- and gas-pipe making, shipbuilding, and railroad car-building and to canneries, both in and outside Algeria. Its rolled sheets, galvanized iron and tinplate are purchased, among others, by the U.S., Britain and the F.R.G. This is of special importance as since 1984 the El-Hadjar works has emphasized production for export. According to the deputy director-general, the works is now the country's second biggest hard currency earner after the petrochemical industry.

Even a cursory inspection of the El-Hadjar complex gave us an idea of its importance to the Algerian economy. We felt it throbbing with intense productive life. The works operates around the clock, on a three-shift basis, with 44-hour working week. This is made necessary by the specific nature of metallurgical production.

The problems involved in further development are being successfully dealt with. Previously the works suffered from manpower fluctuations. In 1983 things began to improve, largely owing to the fact that it is rather hard to find a job in one's line in Algeria. Notably, the works seeks to provide its 18,000 employees with housing.

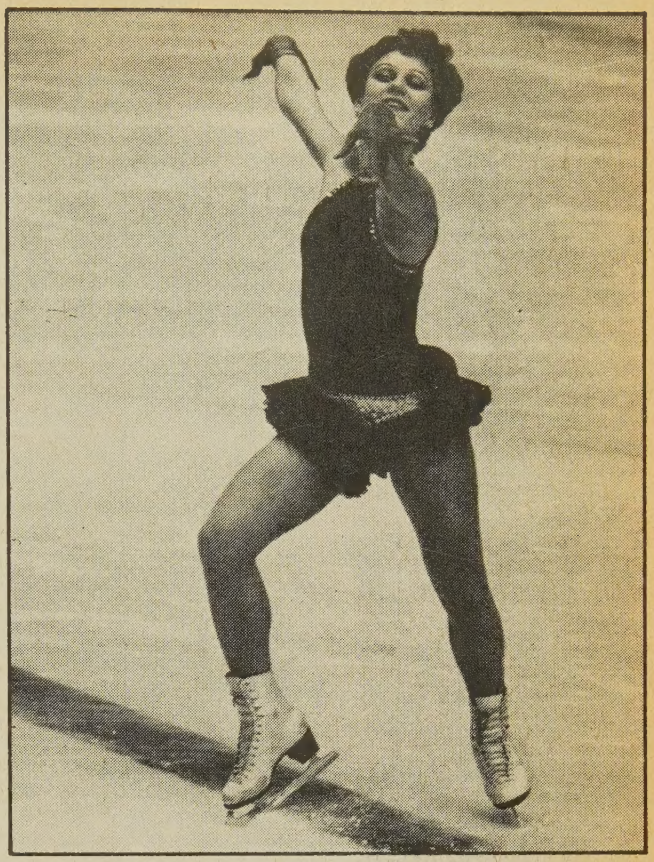
A whole neighbourhood with over 10,000 inexpensive council flats has sprung up near the complex. An ingenious solution has been found for the problem of material incentive to more efficient work. Miloud Aichouche, head of the works' public relations and marketing department, explained that workers, engineers and technicians are entitled to monthly personal and/or group bonuses of up to 40 per cent of their wages (depending on their performance). The works' canteens serve cut-price meals.

As we left El-Hadjar, we felt proud that our country had contributed to the progress of modern Algeria. El-Hadjar is just one example of fruitful Soviet-Algerian cooperation.

E. BOBROV
our own correspondent
Annaba-Algiers

With an Eye to the Olympics

ELENA TCHAIKOVSKAYA
Leading Soviet figure-skating coach



Star Soviet figure-skater Kira Ivanova. TASS photos

The pre-Olympic season is always a special one. A year before the Olympic Games, the line-up of national teams is tentatively determined and figures emerge in world sport whose results and style set in a large measure the trends for the future.

For many years pair skating has been the highlight of figure-skating events. There is no point in enumerating here the names of all the Soviet world, European and Olympic champions. Let me just say that for more than 20 years we have only conceded the world title in pair skating twice and then only briefly.

The reigning world champions are a young pair from Moscow, Ekaterina Gordeyeva and Sergei Grinkov. I saw them perform in important tournaments last season and I was pleasantly surprised by their confidence and verve. The complexity of their routines was not above that of other leading Soviet and foreign pairs, but they had panache and showmanship. They made immediate contact with the spectators. This, I think, clinched their victory over the Olympic and world champions Elena Valova and Oleg Vasilyev from Leningrad.

This is what I like most about young champions. For many years I have been trying to teach my pupils to make contact with the audience. This is no easy thing. It requires hard work and insight into the laws of art in general and the art of movement in particular. The question is how to win over spectators and judges with a single gesture and a single step, make them believe in you and give you preference over other competitors.

In addition to the two leading duets we have another battle-tried pair—Olympic bronze medallists Larisa Seleznyova and Oleg Makarov, also from Leningrad. They stress speed and athleticism. Like Valova and Vasilyev, they include complex leaps and dizzying supports in their routines. With one year to go before the 1988 winter Olympics in Calgary, Canada, their task is to keep their form and avoid injuries, which have recently plagued them.

Natalya Annenko and Genrikh Sretensky, the top Soviet dance duo.

It is unlikely that anyone will break into this leading trio of pairs. However, one can never be too sure. We have witnessed athletes soar to the top on the eve of major events. This adds an extra element of excitement to competitions.

In recent years I as a coach have devoted much time to Vladimir Kotin, the single male skater, and the dancing pair, Olga Volozhinskaya and Alexander Svinin. Alas, Olga and Alexander have joined the ice-dancing group "All Stars" and will no longer compete. But Vladimir Kotin, twice the European silver medallist, has made good progress. He confidently performs the whole

set of triple leaps, has mastered the triple axel and greatly improved his compulsory skating routine. I have no doubt that, together with ex-world champion Alexander Fadeyev (during last season Kotin beat him all-round in the European championship and in free skating at the world championship) he will be a strong contender for the top place in this season and in the Olympics.

Another hopeful among male individual skaters is Victor Petrenko. For the first time in history a young man from Odessa has made the top five of the world single skaters. In general, young figure skaters from Odessa, Sverdlovsk, Kazan, Gorky, Dnepropetrovsk, Kiev and Minsk are presenting an increasingly strong challenge to the main centres of figure skating—Moscow and Leningrad—in national competitions.

There are many young but experienced skaters who form the second string, as it were. One of them, Vitaly Egorov of Kharkov, is a world junior ex-champion. At the start of the season he won the Skate Canada tournament in Regina.

Single skating events have in recent years been the highlights of all competitions. They present the most complex routines full of leaps, sequences and gyrations. Single skating is the main growth point in figure skating overall.

The same, unfortunately, cannot be said of female individual skaters, whose progress has been less spectacular. Discoveries and new talents are few and far between. At any rate, we have yet to produce a woman figure skater of the stature of the legendary Peggy Fleming of the United States. The 1986 female champion was Debi Thomas, a black skater from the U.S. She is a versatile skater who is equally strong in all three disciplines. Debi, of course, will try to retain her title. The question may well be asked: when will Soviet woman skaters put up a real challenge to their foreign rivals?

For a while, hopes were inspired by the results of the world and European prize-winners Kira Ivanova (the first Soviet figure skater to win the Olympic bronze in Sarajevo) and Anna Kondrashova. However, a year ago they slipped back. By the time of the 1988 Olympics a new crop of talents may have appeared on the scene and gained a place in the national squad. I think Tatyana Andreyeva and Natalya Gorbenko, junior world champions, may well accomplish that. Incidentally, Tatyana has recently joined the group of athletes that I coach. She is a very hard-working and serious girl. At 16, she is equipped to perform the most complex elements. As far as artistry is concerned, she has Vladimir Kotin's example before her.

Finally, a word about our ice dancers. They have dominated the scene for many years. My pupils Lyudmila Pakhomova and Alexander Gorshkov were the first Soviet Olympic ice dancing champions. They were succeeded by Natalya Linichuk and Gennady Karponosov. The period between 1981 and 1984 was dominated by Jayne Torvill and Christopher Dean. But in recent years they have been displaced by Natalya Bestemyanova and Andrei Bukin of the Soviet Union, who continue to develop their original style. Hot on their tracks is another excellent dancing pair—Marina Klimova and Sergei Ponomarenko. The performances of these duets have graced the world and European championships in recent years. They are our main hope at the contests ahead.

But young dancing pairs are emerging. Natalya Annenko and Genrikh Sretensky, Maya Usova and Alexander Zhulin have already performed in major international tournaments, building up their stature and preparing themselves to challenge the strongest pairs.

Many of the Soviet figure skaters I have named were to be seen in action at the recent Moscow News tournament. As usual, it attracted many top skaters from abroad.

The finest skaters consider it an honour to take part in this competition. I cannot help remembering the demonstration performance by Soviet and American figure skaters at the Goodwill Games in 1986. Some of the top American athletes joined their Soviet counterparts in a brilliant show, drawing applause from the spectators. But one number was cheered in particular. In it, world champion Debi Thomas and Vladimir Kotin performed a lively dance to a song by Michael Jackson. This performance symbolized friendship between athletes from different countries. ■

GUESTS OF NEW TIMES

Among recent visitors to our office were: Kim Chan Mo, member of the editorial board and head of a department of Kukche Sanhwal (International Life magazine, Democratic People's Republic of Korea), and Li Chin Hun, news analyst of the same publication; Erich Rossmann and Ulrike Hörster-Philipps, of the Joseph Wirth Foundation (F.R.G.); Professor Helmut Mardek of the Institute of International Relations of the G.D.R. Academy of State and Law; Patrick Bergraud, editor-in-chief of the French magazine France-U.R.S.S.; Jurai Hymal, director of the Czechoslovak publishing house Prace, and Kostas Michailidis, president of the Nei Keri Elladas commercial firm, Greece.

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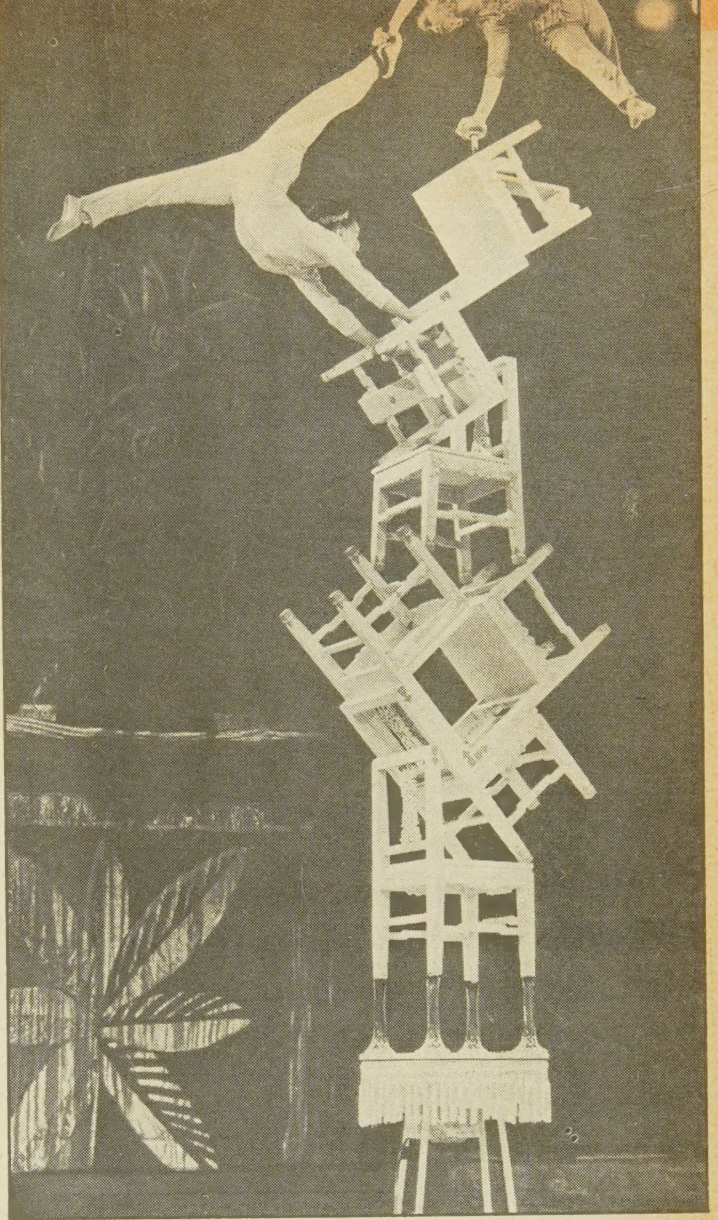
The Wonders of the Chinese Circus

The extraordinary skill of Chinese circus performers was demonstrated recently in Moscow by a visiting company from Shandong.

Veritable miracles were performed on the circus ring, no less remarkable than famous Chinese multi-layered balls carved out of a single piece of bone. The circus artistes from Shandong imparted a purely Chinese touch to their acrobatic and equilibristic turns. And during the performance of Lu Lixin and Shen Ning, winners of the top prize at the Monte Carlo international festival of circus art, it seemed as if the laws of gravity had ceased to operate.

The "Dance of the Dragon," "The Dance of the Lions" and others brought the flavour of ancient Chinese legend to Moscow audiences.

Moscow was enchanted by the Chinese circus.



Equilibrist Deng Baojin getting ready for her act. ● The incredible chair turn. ● Tokens of appreciation from the audience. ● An acrobatic number.

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